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TRANSACTIONS

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OF THE

Alabama Historical Society

1898-99

V. 3

PUBLICATIONS

EDITED

By THOMAS McADORY OWEN

Secretary

TRANSACTIONS, VOL. III.

VOL. III

Tuscaloosa, Alabama:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1899

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PREFACE.

This number of the *Transactions* is prepared under a similar authorization, and after the same general plan as the preceding volume. The Proceedings of the annual meeting, and the administrative work for the period covered, are first given. Then follow the papers read at the annual meeting, "other historical papers and documents," and the Proceedings and papers of the Spanish Evacuation Centennial, May 6, 1899.

The editor has introduced several articles, by the introduction of bibliographical, critical and illustrative notes and comments. These **PUBLICATIONS** are intended simply as suggestive helps for future work. It is proper to say that the notes to the **OF THE** of Mr. Hamilton were prepared by him. All others are the work of the editor. It is a pleasure to mention that the editorial work in volume II, both from members and historical students generally.

The historical **Alabama Historical Society.** The well considered address of Dr. W. R. Garrett, on "The Work of the South in Building the United States," is full of suggestion, and is promotive of a broad patriotism. "Relics and Antiquities," by Mrs. W. R. Sorsby, and the discussion which followed, emphasize this branch of the work of the Society. Prof. H. S. Halbert, in "Choctaw Indian Names in Alabama and Mississippi," presents the names of a large number of towns, rivers and creeks in these States, with their derivation and signification, illustrating the contribution made by these Indians to our life and history. The list of "General and Staff Officers from Alabama in the War, 1861-1865," can but prove of practical value. In "French Exploration from Mobile," P. J. Hamilton, Esq., gives a graphic survey of what the French did by way of exploring the West and Southwest from their Gulf capitals at Biloxi and Mobile, which he calls "the brightest part of Louisiana's history." Certain dramatic incidents in an occasion of great importance are preserved

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The editor has carefully annotated the several articles, by the introduction of bibliographical, critical and illustrative notes and comments. These are by no means exhaustive. They are intended simply as suggestive helps for future work. It is proper to say that the notes to the papers of Mr. Hamilton were prepared by him. All others are the work of the editor. It is a pleasure to refer to the general approval of his editorial work in volume ii, both from members and historical students generally.

The historical papers presented herein are believed to be carefully prepared, and cover a variety of topics. The well considered address of Dr. W. R. Garrett, on "The Work of the South in Building the United States," is full of suggestion, and is promotive of a broad patriotism. "Relics and Antiquities," by Mrs. W. E. Sorsby, and the discussion which followed, emphasize this branch of the work of the Society. Prof. H. S. Halbert, in "Choc-taw Indian Names in Alabama and Mississippi," presents the names of a large number of towns, rivers and creeks in these States, with their derivation and signification, illustrating the contribution made by these Indians to our life and history. The list of "General and Staff Officers from Alabama in the War, 1861-1865," can but prove of practical value. In "French Exploration from Mobile," P. J. Hamilton, Esq., gives a graphic survey of what the French did by way of exploring the West and Southwest from their Gulf capitals at Biloxi and Mobile, which he calls "the brightest part of Louisiana's history." Certain dramatic incidents in an occasion of great importance are preserved

by A. W. Dillard, Esq., in his "Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek," wherein the Choctaw Indians ceded all of their lands East of the Mississippi river to the United States. The contemporary "Geographical Sketch of the Alabama Territory," by Mr. Justus Wyman, cannot fail of interest, as it gives a view of the State just as it was about to pass from the Territorial stage. This is followed by an appreciative memoir of "Governor William Wyatt Bibb," the first Territorial and State chief executive of Alabama, prepared by C. E. Jones, Esq. Gen. C. M. Wilcox, in a brief account of "Wilcox's Brigade," treats of the 9th, 10th and 11th Alabama Regiments, as parts of the larger organization. Probably the earliest contemporary view of North Alabama is the "Diary of Richard Breckenridge, 1816," here first printed, and although meager in statement, it strikingly sets forth the annoyances, trials and hardships of the pioneers.

The remaining numbers of Part I embrace a variety of important topics. They include several original documents, the publication of which will doubtless be welcomed.

The Spanish Evacuation Centennial was an occasion admirably calculated to promote interest in the work of the Society, and to arouse a feeling of State pride. Several addresses and papers were read, illustrating the history of the old town and surrounding country. The report of the committee, an account of the proceedings, and the papers referred to, are included herein, and are believed to be worthy of preservation in this way.

OFFICERS FOR 1899-1900:

PRESIDENT:

His Excellency, JOSEPH FORNEY JOHNSTON, Governor, Montgomery.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

WILLIAM LEROY BROWN, President A. P. I., Auburn.

COL. MARTIN LUTHER STANSEL, Carrollton.

EDWARD LAFAYETTE RUSSELL, Esq., Mobile.

THOMAS CHALMERS MCCORVEY, Professor of History and Philosophy, University of Alabama.

PETER JOSEPH HAMILTON, Esq., Mobile.

MRS. WILLIAMS EDWIN SORSBY, Birmingham.

SECRETARY AND TREASURER:

THOMAS McADORY OWEN, Esq., Carrollton.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

(In addition to the above officials)

DR. WILLIAM STOKES WYMAN, Professor of Latin, University of Alabama.

DR. JAMES KNOX POWERS, President of the University of Alabama.

DR. EUGENE ALLEN SMITH, State Geologist, University of Alabama.

DR. JOSHUA HILL, FOSTER, Tuscaloosa.

JAMES HARRIS FITTS, Esq., Tuscaloosa.

JUDGE JAMES JEFFERSON MAYFIELD, Tuscaloosa.

There are no qualifications for membership. All persons interested in the work of the Society, and desiring to promote its objects, are invited to become members.

Donations, whether of money, or of books, papers and relics for the library and museum, are solicited.

There is no initiation fee. Annual dues, \$2.00. All current publications free to members.

Address all communications to the SECRETARY.

AN ACT

TO INCORPORATE THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Alabama in General Assembly convened,* That the Historical Society of this State be and the same is hereby incorporated by the name and style of "The Alabama Historical Society."

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the said corporation may take and hold real and personal property to the value of ten thousand dollars, may make a constitution and by-laws for the government thereof not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of this State, may sue and be sued, and do all other acts and things consistent with the object of the said corporation which any other corporation may or can do; but shall not exercise banking privileges or emit notes, bonds or bills to circulate as money.

APPROVED, February 5, 1852.

Acts, 1851-52, p. 288.

CONTENTS.

Half Title,	1
Title,	3
Preface,	5
Officers for 1899-1900,	7
An act to Incorporate the Alabama Historical Society,	8
Contents,	9
PART I.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, ETC.	
I. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, June 19, 1899,.....	13
II. Necrology, by <i>Thomas M. Owen</i> ,	23
III. The Work of the South in Building the United States, by <i>Dr. W. R. Garrett</i> ,	27
IV. Relics and Antiquities, by <i>Mrs. W. E. Sorsby, C. A. Lanier,</i> <i>Dr. W. C. Richardson and Thomas M. Owen</i> ,	46
V. Choctaw Indian Names in Alabama and Mississippi, by <i>H.</i> <i>S. Halbert</i> ,	64
VI. General and Staff Officers from Alabama in the War, 1861-65,	78
VII. French Exploration from Mobile, by <i>P. J. Hamilton</i> ,.....	80
VIII. The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, by <i>A. W. Dillard</i> ,....	99
IX. A Geographical Sketch of the Alabama Territory, by <i>Justus</i> <i>Wyman</i> ,	107
X. Governor William Wyatt Bibb, by <i>C. E. Jones</i> ,.....	128
XI. Wilcox's Brigade, by <i>Gen. C. M. Wilcox</i> ,.....	133
XII. Diary of Richard Breckenridge, 1816,	142
XIII. The Visit of President James Monroe to Alabama Territory, June 1, 1819,	154
XIV. Early History of Monroe County, Alabama,	159
XV. The Creek Indian War of 1836, by <i>John A. Campbell</i> ,	162
XVI. Burr's Conspiracy,	167
XVII. Tales of Personal Adventure. Recollections of Incidents in the War between the States, by <i>John W. DuBose</i> ,	178
XVIII. Letters from George Strother Gaines relating to Events in South Alabama, 1805-1814,	184

PART II.—PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS OF THE SPANISH EVACUATION
CENTENNIAL.

I. Report of the Committee,	195
II. Proceedings of the Spanish Evacuation Centennial, May 6, 1899,	198
III. Address of Welcome, by <i>B. D. Turner</i> ,	202
IV. Reminiscences. Response to Address of Welcome, by <i>Huri- osco Austill</i> ,	205
V. Reminiscences of Old St. Stephens, by <i>Miss Mary Welsh</i> ,...	208
VI. St. Stephens, Spanish Fort and American Town, by <i>P. J. Hamilton</i> ,	227



PART I.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY; AND HISTORICAL PAPERS.

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA, JUNE 19, 1899.

(II)

I. PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 19, 1899.

9:30 A. M. ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING.

The annual meeting of the Alabama Historical Society for 1899 convened at 9:30 a. m., June 19, in Clark Hall, University of Alabama. The attendance at that hour being small, a recess was taken, and the business of the session was laid over until the afternoon.

11 A. M. ANNUAL ORATION.

At 11 o'clock a. m. a large, enthusiastic and cultivated audience was assembled. Hon. Joseph Forney Johnston, President of the Society, called the meeting to order; and prayer was offered by Rev. Neal L. Anderson, of Montgomery.

The President congratulated the State on the efforts being put forth by the Society in the preservation of her annals. The history of Alabama in every decade was such as to challenge the admiration of all men. The Historical Society with renewed energies and life was the proper agency to foster interest and disseminate this history. All Alabamians should lend encouragement and assistance. He then introduced the speaker of the hour, Dr. William R. Garrett, of the Chair of History in the Peabody Normal School, Nashville, Tenn., who delivered an address on "The Work of the South in Building the United States."

(See p. 27, for copy of address.)

At the conclusion the President tendered, in a pleasant and happy manner, the thanks of the Society and the audience to Dr. Garrett for his able, scholarly and instructive address.

The secretary, after also thanking Dr. Garrett for his interest in the work of the Society as indicated by his appearance on this occasion, read the announcements for the afternoon session.

The meeting closed with benediction by Rev. David Clay Lilly, of Tuscaloosa.

At the beginning and close of the exercises a string band discoursed patriotic airs.

3:30 P. M. BUSINESS SESSION.

The afternoon session of the Society was held at 3:30 p. m. in the County Court House, in the city of Tuscaloosa. Prof. T. C. McCorvey, one of the Vice-Presidents, presided.

The following members were in attendance, viz: Dr. J. H. Foster, Dr. W. S. Wyman, Dr. W. C. Richardson, Prof. T. C. McCorvey, Dr. James T. Searcy, Dr. George G. Brownell, Dr. D. Clay Lilly, James H. Fitts, Esq., Mr. Jno. R. Kennedy, Mr. W. D. Seed and Judge J. J. Mayfield, all of Tuscaloosa; Dr. R. H. Duggar, Gallion; Prof. C. C. Thach, Auburn; Prof. Levin V. Rosser, Carrollton; Mr. Charles A. Peevy, Havana; Mr. Wm. L. Martin, Havana; Mrs. George R. Stamps, East Lake; Mrs. W. E. Sorsby, Birmingham; Miss Sarah Foster Owen, Jonesboro; Mrs. Evelyn H. Fitzpatrick, Mrs. E. P. Morrisette, Rev. Neal L. Anderson, and Clifford A. Lanier, Esq., of Montgomery; and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas M. Owen, of Carrollton. There was also a large number of representative visitors.

The reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting was dispensed with by unanimous consent.

The Secretary read by title the following papers (which are printed in full hereinafter), viz:

"French Exploration from Mobile," by P. J. Hamilton, Esq.;

"Choctaw Indian Names in Alabama and Mississippi," by Prof. H. S. Halbert;

"Governor William Wyatt Bibb," by Dr. Charles Edgeworth Jones; and

"The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek Between the United States and Choctaw Indians in 1830," by A. W. Dillard, Esq.

Mrs. W. E. Sorsby, of Birmingham, was introduced, and read a paper on "Relics and Antiquities." At its conclusion she exhibited a number of curious and interesting relics. A spirited discussion followed, participated in by Messrs. Wyman, Thach, Lanier, Richardson, Anderson and Owen.

(This Paper and the remarks of Messrs. Lanier, Richardson, and Owen are printed in full hereinafter, p. 46.)

Dr. W. S. Wyman, of the University of Alabama, presented a

paper on "Indian Names of the Gulf Region," the reading of which excited much interest.¹ The subject was discussed by Messrs. McCorvey, Thach, Garrett, Lanier and Owen.

The Secretary then submitted a report. After it had been read, it was adopted on motion of Rev. Neal L. Anderson, with a rising vote of thanks to the Secretary for his labors during the past year.² On motion, the several suggestions and recommendations contained in the report, and which might not be acted upon at this meeting, were referred to the Executive Committee for such attention as to it might be advisable. (*See Appendix No. 1, hereto.*)

The Treasurer presented an annual report. On motion it was referred to a special auditing committee of two, consisting of L. V. Rosser, Chairman, and Dr. W. C. Richardson. (*See Appendix, No. 2, hereto.*)

The Secretary submitted for the chairman, P. J. Hamilton, Esq., the report of the Committee on the Spanish Evacuation Centennial. On motion, it was adopted and ordered printed, with the accompanying papers, in the current volume of *Transactions*.

(*See Part II, p. 193, et seq., for Proceedings and Papers.*)

The Auditing Committee made its report, which was, on motion, adopted.

On motion of Prof. C. C. Thach the following resolution, which was in force during the preceding year, was re-adopted:

Resolved, That the Secretary is hereby empowered to nominate, enroll and issue certificates to persons as members, resident, corresponding or honorary, who have the qualifications prescribed and who comply with the rules of the organization.

Mr. Owen introduced the following resolution, which was on his motion unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the present Constitution of the Alabama Historical Society

¹ Dr. Wyman retained his paper, and has failed to forward it to the Secretary for publication.

² The following extract is made from the news account of the business meeting in the *Tuscaloosa Times*, June 20, 1899, viz:

"The Secretary, Mr. Owen, read his report and also the one as Treasurer. So wonderful has been his work during the past year and so great a success has marked his efforts that Dr. Neal Anderson moved that a vote of thanks be given for his 'tireless energy and matchless patience.' Dr. Anderson paid the secretary a just tribute when he said he believed 'Mr. Owen was a man raised by God for the work.' The vote of thanks was enthusiastic and unanimous."

is out of print, and is, together with the several amendments thereto, now inaccessible to members, and whereas changed conditions necessitate changes in the rules of administration heretofore in force, be it resolved,

That the Executive Committee of the Society for the coming year be and is hereby empowered and directed to prepare a new Constitution for said Society, which shall be in full force and effect ten days after publication.

Mr. Owen called up the recommendation of the Secretary in reference to the establishment of a periodical, or magazine. He was of the opinion that such a step would be wise, and thought the meeting ought to take some special action on the subject at this time. There was considerable discussion, in which the matter was fully gone over.

Mr. James H. Fitts then submitted the following resolution, urging it strongly, and on his motion, it was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That Thomas M. Owen, as soon as in his discretion such action is advisable, be and he is hereby authorized and directed to issue and maintain as editor a quarterly periodical devoted to Alabama history and the interests of the Alabama Historical Society; and that the cost of publishing the same shall be paid by the Treasurer out of any unappropriated funds of the Society, provided he shall at no time issue a number unless funds are available to pay therefor.

A vote of thanks was extended Dr. Wm. R. Garrett for his address delivered at the morning session.

The following resolution, offered by Mr. Owen, was on motion, adopted:

Resolved, That the Secretary shall cause the proceedings and papers of the present annual meeting, the proceedings and papers of the Spanish Evacuation Centennial, and such other historical papers and documents as he may deem advisable, to be carefully edited and published as volume iii of the *Transactions*, etc.

On motion of J. H. Fitts the officials of the past year were reëlected by acclamation. Prof. C. C. Thach moved that the vacancy in the position of Sixth Vice-President be filled by the election of Mrs. W. E. Sorsby, of East Lake, which motion was unanimously adopted.

(For list see page 7.)

The meeting then adjourned at 7 o'clock p. m.

THOMAS M. OWEN, *Secretary*.

APPENDIX TO THE PROCEEDINGS.

(I) SECRETARY'S REPORT, 1898-99.

A report of the conduct and doings of the office of the Secretary, from June 21, 1898, to June 19, 1899, is herewith submitted. It is hoped that the recital of the work done, and an account of its present condition, will be both interesting and encouraging.

REVIVAL.

On entering upon the duties of the dual position of Secretary and Treasurer, June 21, 1898, the outlook was without promise and altogether discouraging. Owing to stagnation of the Society for many years, little interest was manifested by the few remaining and known members in the proposed attempt at revival. It was assumed in advance that nothing would or could be done. As a result of this inactivity, the record books of the Secretary were found to have been misplaced; and the treasury was without funds. Notwithstanding these discouraging features, the work of reviving interest was promptly begun. A circular (No. 1) "Announcement," containing a brief statement of the condition and prospects of the Society, etc., was prepared. All of the known members were appealed to by personal letter for support and coöperation. Other persons known to be interested in the movement were invited to membership. In order to call attention to the projected publications, a circular (No. 2) "Prospectus" of vol. i of the *Transactions*, 1850-97, was issued and sent to the great libraries and to the book trade. To enlist the powerful influence of the press, a circular (No. 3) "Appeal" was mailed, together with the "Announcement," to every newspaper in the State. Complimentary and encouraging notices were promptly given by many of the papers, thus popularizing the organization. The zeal and persistence with which this work was done soon aroused the enthusiasm of those directly interested in the endeavor, and at once gave confidence to the public. A successful appeal was then made to the General Assembly, resulting in an appropriation, and the adoption of a measure which will ultimately embark the State on a systematic scheme of preserving and publishing its history. The task of building up the library and collections, the labor of editing and directing the publication of the *Transactions*, and the movement to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Spanish Evacuation of St. Stephens, have all been carried along simultaneously with other efforts.

The result of the year's labors is seen in a condition of historical enthusiasm and inquiry never before known in Alabama, and which is daily increasing in extent beyond the most sanguine hopes.

MEMBERSHIP.

There are now on the rolls three hundred and sixteen resident members, twenty-five corresponding members, and five honorary members. Of these, sixty-six resident and two honorary members appear to have been elected at meetings prior to June, 1898, and they are so designated. It may be said of them, however, that not exceeding twenty-five were ever informed of such election, and until now have never had any practical connection with the Society. The actual new enrollment for the year is as follows: two hundred and fifty-one resident members, twenty-five

corresponding members, and three honorary members. Five members (four old and one new) have died during the year, and their names are not included in the foregoing totals.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The entire work being practically carried forward by means of correspondence, it has therefore, been exceedingly voluminous, and the proper care for it has been quite onerous. In conducting it, strict business methods have been applied and rigidly adhered to. Replies and acknowledgments have been promptly made in all cases. All letters received are carefully filed and preserved. The mailing record for the year is as follows: fifteen hundred and fifteen first class letters; two hundred first class circulars; four hundred and thirty-one second class circulars; and forty postal cards. The stationery and postal expenses, therefore, while apparently high, in fact amount to a trifle only when it is considered that the year's results have been principally brought about by this agency.

PUBLICATIONS.

As required by the resolutions adopted at the last annual meeting, vol. ii of the *Transactions*, 1897-1898, was edited by the Secretary and prepared for publication. Its appearance has been delayed from obvious business considerations. It is now published, however, and is ready for distribution. It is earnestly hoped that it will meet the demands of the members, and serve to arouse more confidence in the work and efforts of the Society. In typographical excellence it will favorably compare with the best issues of similar organizations.

Owing to the continued misplacement of the old records, it has been impossible to complete vol. i of the *Transactions*, 1850-1897. All historical papers heretofore presented, and which can now be found, have with much labor been carefully copied, and as far as possible edited for publication. Renewed efforts will be made to locate the missing books, and if they cannot be found, it may be necessary to use abstracts of the proceedings of the several meetings, compiled from newspaper files and other sources.

The following circulars have been issued, pertaining to the administration of the office of the Secretary, viz:

Administrative Circular No. 1.—Announcement, 1898-1899.

Administrative Circular No. 2.—Prospectus, *Transactions*, 1850-1897.

Administrative Circular No. 3.—Appeal to the Press of the State.

Administrative Circular No. 4.—I. General Information; II. Personal and Press Endorsements; and III. List of Members.

Administrative Circular No. 5.—Spanish Evacuation Anniversary; Annual Meeting 1899; Alabama in the War between the States; Library and Collections; and Membership.

Of the seven pamphlets, and the twenty-nine issues of the *Alabama Historical Reporter*, constituting the old publications, all are now practically out of print.

The publication of work is eminently the most important matter to be accomplished, and all possible means in this direction should be used. The Annual Series, already begun, to contain the proceedings of the meetings and the papers presented, should be continued. As soon as possible a Miscellaneous Series, to be issued at irregular intervals, and to consist principally of original or special material, should be instituted. The publications have a value altogether beyond the library and antiquarian accumulations to be made by the Society, for while members and others may never have the opportunity to visit the latter, at a nominal cost the former can be procured and preserved for constant reference.

NEED OF A PERIODICAL.

In the projection of plans for future usefulness, as one of the very best means of fostering a healthy and increasing interest in the Society's objects, the issuance of a quarterly magazine or other periodical is strongly urged, the publication of which should not interfere with any of the existing or contemplated publications above referred to. Its value has been shown by the experience of kindred organizations; and an effort in this direction was made by this Society in the *Alabama Historical Reporter*, irregularly issued, 1879-1885. As a means of exchange of ideas and methods of work it would be invaluable to members. It should contain institutional studies and papers, original documents, family histories and biographies, and notes and queries. It should go to all members free of cost, and to non-members should bear a subscription price equal to annual dues.

BOOK DONATIONS.

The books received by donation have been neither numerous nor valuable, but are sufficient to indicate a growth of interest. The importance of a well-equipped library in the work of the Society is obvious. Every member should take a personal interest in increasing its extent and usefulness.

EXCHANGES.

The absence of publications on which to base requests has made it impracticable to attempt to arrange exchanges with other Societies. However, a number have been received in view of the promised issues; and as soon as possible others will be added. The Societies now sending their publications are the Southern History Association, Washington, D. C.; the Southern Historical Society, Richmond, Va.; the Filson Club, Louisville, Ky.; the Mississippi State Historical Society, University; the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah; the New Jersey Historical Society, Newark; the Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N. Y.; the Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles; the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, Charleston; the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis; the Texas State Historical Association, Austin; and the North Carolina Baptist Historical Society, Henderson.

NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED.

In response to the circular "Appeal to the Press of the State," there has not been as general a coöperation as was expected. It is gratifying, however, to note that the dailies, with few exceptions, have manifested a zealous interest in the upbuilding of the Society, and have done all that was desired by way of disseminating information respecting it.

A very small number of papers have responded to the request for a regular complimentary copy for the library. Circular appeal having proved unavailing, a direct effort will be made during the succeeding year to secure regular copies of every newspaper published in the State. There are now regularly received and filed for binding four dailies, eleven weeklies, two monthlies, and the Weather service bulletins and monthly reports.

LEGISLATIVE AID.

The most significant evidence of the revival of historical interest in the State appears in the ready response made by the last General Assembly to the Society's appeal for financial assistance. With practically no opposition an Act was passed to appropriate two hundred and fifty dollars annually for two years to aid in the publication of its transactions and papers. At the committee hearings and on the floor of both Houses was

manifested a keen interest and lively enthusiasm, highly gratifying to the friends of the movement.

ALABAMA HISTORY COMMISSION.

Another Act was passed "To provided for the appointment of an Alabama History Commission," to consist of five persons to be selected from the membership of the Society. The Act provides that it shall be the duty of the Commission—

"Under such rules, regulations and plan of procedure as it may adopt, and without compensation, to make a full, detailed and exhaustive examination of all the sources and materials, manuscript, documentary and record of the history of Alabama from the earliest times, whether in domestic or foreign archives and repositories, or in private hands, including the records of Alabama troops in all wars in which they have participated, and also of the location and present condition of battlefields, historic houses and buildings, and other places and things of historic interest and importance in the State, and the said commission shall embody the result of said examination in a detailed report to the governor of Alabama prior to the next ensuing session of the General Assembly, with an account of the then condition of historical work in the State and with such recommendations as may be desirable."

This report is to be printed and bound in an edition of one thousand copies. The Governor is then required to "submit said report to the ensuing session of the General Assembly with a plan for permanently fostering historic interest and the preservation of the records, archives and history of the State."

The Commission has therefore a plain and specific work, which is to make an investigation and report, on the subjects named, to the chief executive for the use of the next General Assembly. This report and the plan presented by the Governor will form the basis for intelligent legislative action in behalf of the history of the State, a step too long neglected and a consummation of which is so earnestly desired.

The Governor has named the following members:

Thomas M. Owen, Esq., Carrollton, *Chairman*.

Dr. W. S. Wyman, University of Alabama.

Col. Sam Will John, Birmingham.

Peter J. Hamilton, Esq., Mobile.

Prof. Charles C. Thach, Auburn.

The Commission has organized, and work has been assigned to the several members. Within twelve months it is expected that the report will be ready for publication.

SPANISH EVACUATION CENTENNIAL.

At the last annual meeting, resolutions were adopted favoring the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the termination of Spanish occupation north of line 31 degrees north latitude, in what is now Alabama. The President of the Society named the following committee, "charged with the duty of providing for and conducting said celebration," viz: *Chairman*, Peter J. Hamilton, Esq., Mobile; Hon. Hannis Taylor, Mobile; E. L. Russell, Esq., Mobile; T. G. Bush, Esq., Anniston; and Thomas M. Owen, Esq., Carrollton. Under the direction of the committee the celebration was held on May 6, 1899, at Old St. Stephens, the attendance being large and the occasion very enjoyable. Full particulars will appear in the report of the committee to this meeting.

One of the immediate good results following the inauguration of the celebration movement was the organization, on Jan. 19, 1899, of the "Old St. Stephens Historical Society," for the purpose of studying and preserving the history of this region.

SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In this connection it will not be amiss to suggest the adoption of plans for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Alabama Historical Society. Elaborate preparations are not necessary, but there should at least be a commemorative discourse by some one or more of the original members of the organization. Steps might be taken looking to its commemoration by the creation and beginning of a building fund for a permanent home for the Society and its collections. A special committee might be appointed, entrusted generally with the duty of preparing for the occasion in such a way as seemed most desirable.

OTHER CELEBRATIONS.

The success of the Spanish Evacuation Centennial should encourage the more frequent observance of historic events. Such observance whether it take the form of a small gathering to hear a commemorative address, or a more elaborate series of exercises, cannot be other than educational and instructive. Among the occurrences that should be the subject of such demonstrations are the occasion of the laying of the corner stone of benevolent, educational or monumental structures, or of their completion, and the anniversaries of the creation of towns or counties, or of the establishment of churches, etc. It is suggested that there should be a fitting celebration of the centennial of the formation of Washington county, Alabama, June 4, 1800, which marked the establishment of civil government in the borders of Alabama. The 200th anniversary of the founding of Mobile should be commemorated in a suitable way. And the Society should also arrange to take part in the 100th anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase. A doubt hardly exists as to the great impetus that would be given to historical study and work as a result of such public demonstrations.

NECROLOGY.

During the year the Society has lost by death the following members, viz: Willis G. Clark, Esq., Mobile; W. P. Gaddis, Esq., Wetumpka; Col. R. A. Hardaway, Columbus, Ga.; Rev. W. C. Cleveland, Talladega; and Dr. B. F. Meek, University. Suitable sketches of each will be prepared.

CONCLUSION.

The future is bright with promise, and the management of the Society will doubtless endeavor in every way to justify the expectations that have been aroused. The results accomplished have justified the effort at revival, and the future promises further enlargement and utility, if the members are only faithful to themselves and their State.

THOMAS M. OWEN,
Secretary.

(2) TREASURER'S REPORT, JUNE 21, 1898, TO JUNE 19, 1899.

The Treasurer respectfully submits herewith his annual report, viz:

Receipts.

1899.
June 19. To 137 annual dues, at \$2.00, \$274 00

Expenditures.

(Authorized by resolution at annual meeting, June 21, 1898. See Transactions, vol. ii, p. 13.)

1898.
Dec. 5. By Gassenheimer Paper Co., stationery and office supplies, \$1 95
Dec. 9. By Terry & Davant, office supplies, 1 00
Dec. 17. By Baine Printing Co., stationery, 12 98
1899.
Jan. 21. By the West Alabamian Co., printing circulars 1, 2, and 3, 10 00
Feb. 20. By Southern Express Co., express on manuscript of vol. ii, *Transactions*, 61
Mar. 14. By the West Alabamian Co., printing circular No. 5, letterheads and envelopes, 4 50
April 1. By Gassenheimer Paper Co., stationery, 4 70
April 1. By W. M. Rogers & Co., printing circular No. 4, 24 25
April 7. By Mobile & Ohio R. R. Co., freight on shipment of circular No. 4 and stationery, from Montgomery, 2 12
May 12. By the West Alabamian Co., printing letter heads,.... 1 60
June 9. By J. O. Garner, blank record book, 25
June 17. By amount paid for copying and transcribing manuscripts, books and other papers for vol. i, *Transactions*, 1850-1897, 49 59
June 17. By postage for correspondence, June 21, 1898, to June 19, 1899, 44 01
June 19. By amount on hand to balance, 116 44

\$274 00

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS M. OWEN,
Treasurer.

June 19, 1899.

The committee appointed to examine the accounts and books of the Treasurer find the accounts accurate, as shown by the accompanying statement and vouchers.

(Signed)

L. V. ROSSER,
W. C. RICHARDSON,
Auditing Committee.

II. NECROLOGY.

By THOMAS M. OWEN, of Carrollton.

CLARK,¹ WILLIS GAYLORD, son of Dr. Willis Fish Clark (of Livingston Co., N. Y.), and his wife, Miss Barnard (of Mass.), was born in Western New York, Oct. 27, 1827, and died at Roanoke, Va., while returning home from a visit to New York, on Sept. 10, 1898. He is buried in Magnolia Cemetery, Mobile. He was carefully educated, and for some time engaged in teaching. He travelled extensively over the South, and in 1849 located in Mobile. Here he was admitted to the bar in 1850, but practiced only a short while. Entering the newspaper world, he was at various times the editor of the *Southern Magazine*, Mobile; the *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, and *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, during trying periods of the history of the country. About 1867 he retired from journalism, and engaged in manufacturing enterprises. He has been conspicuous in the cause of education. He is said to have largely framed the present school system of Mobile, and was a member of its Board of Commissioners from 1852 to his death, except during the Reconstruction Era. He was a trustee of the University of Alabama, 1865 to 1868, and 1876 to his death, and "Clark Hall" was named in his honor. He was a democrat. In 1885 he became Collector of the Port of Mobile, serving until 1889. His wife was Mrs. Caroline Scott, *nee* Erwin, daughter of Col. John P. Erwin, of Nashville. They had no children. His published writings are a *History of Education in Alabama* (1889); and chapters on "Progress of Education," and "State Industrial Interests," in the *Memorial Record of Alabama* (1893); besides large numbers of editorial articles and fugitive papers. His name is found on the list of Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Society as early as 1883.

CLEVELAND, REV. WM. CALLOWAY, entered the University of Alabama from Dallas Co., and in 1853 took his A. B. degree.

¹*Memorial Record of Alabama* (1893), vol. ii, pp. 523-529.

He later studied medicine, and attained his degree of M. D. In 1875, having in the meantime entered the Baptist ministry he was given the degree of Doctor of Divinity by Howard College. He was a strong and useful man. He died in the Spring of 1899 in Talladega, Ala. He was elected a member of the Society June 16, 1884.

GADDIS,² WILLIAM PEACE, son of John and Elizabeth (*Lloyd*) Gaddis, was born in Coosa Co., Ala., Dec. 27, 1841, and died at Wetumpka, Ala., March 24, 1899. His parents were Georgians, from the town of Newnan. He served in the war between the States as a member of Co. B, 12th Ala. Inf., and the 2d Ala. Cavalry; was a teacher, 1865 to 1869; and from 1870 until his death practiced law at Wetumpka. He was Register in Chancery of Elmore County, 1871 to 1880; was mayor of Wetumpka several terms; and at the date of his death was Probate Judge of Elmore County. He was a Knight of Pythias and a Knight of Honor. He was married, Dec. 20, 1877, to Ella, daughter of Col. John and Sarah (*Hutcheson*) Bass, of Wetumpka; and has had eight children. He was enrolled as a member of the Society, Oct. 11, 1898.

HARDAWAY,³ ROBERT A., son of Robert S. Hardaway (a native of Virginia, and for some years a State Senator from Russell Co., Ala.), was born in Morgan Co., Ga., Feb. 2, 1829, and died at Columbus, Ga., April 26, 1899. He received his education at St. Joseph College, Spring Hill, Ala., and at Emory College, Ga., taking his degree at the latter in 1847. He served in the Mexican War as adjutant of Alabama Volunteers. He was chief civil engineer and superintendent of the Mobile and Girard R. R., 1850 to 1857. Entering the Confederate Army as a captain of artillery, he was on Dec. 5, 1862, promoted to the rank of major, and put in command of the 1st Regt., Va. Artillery, 2nd Corps, A. N. V. After the "Wilderness" engagement, the regiment on re-organization became "Hardaway's Battalion," by which name it was known to the end of the war. Following the close of hostilities,

²*Memorial Record of Alabama* (1893) vol. i, pp. 936-7.

³*Garrett's Public Men in Alabama*, p. 356; *Brewer's Alabama*, p. 516; and *Smith and DeLand's Northern Alabama*, pp. 525-6.

he held the position of chief engineer and superintendent of the East Ala. R. R. four years; from 1872 to 1881 he was commandant and professor of engineering at the A. and M. College, Auburn; during 1881 and 1882 he occupied a position in the engineering department of the Tampico Division of the Mexican Central Railroad; and on Oct. 1, 1882, he became professor of engineering at the Univ. of Ala., where he remained until 1897. As a soldier, engineer, educator and citizen, Col. Hardaway held a high rank. He was an enthusiastic student of the aboriginal history of America, and evinced the deepest interest in the history of Alabama. He was President of the Historical Society for two terms, 1885-87, and Secretary, 1894-98. He married Miss Rebecca Hurt, (d. 1887), at Columbus, Ga., in June, 1857. He has two sons, R. E. and Benj. H. Hardaway, both of whom are civil engineers.

MEEK,⁴ BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, son of Rev. Samuel M. and Annie A. (*McDowell*) Meek was born at Tuscaloosa, Sept. 20, 1836, and died there June 16, 1899. He was the youngest of five sons, all of whom were highly intellectual and gifted: Hon. Alexander B. Meek, lawyer, journalist, historian and poet; John W. Meek, M. D.; Henry F. Meek, a teacher; and Samuel M. Meek, Esq., a lawyer, now of Columbus, Miss. His father, a native of Columbia, S. C., was the son of John and Elenor (*Mills*) Meek, both of County Antrim, Ireland. Both the McDowells and Meeks are of Scotch-Irish origin. Dr. B. F. Meek graduated at the University of Alabama, degree of A. B., class of 1854. He received the degree of A. M. 1858. He was Assistant Professor of Ancient Languages at the University, 1863-65; and Professor of Ancient Languages, Florence Wesleyan University, 1869-71. From 1871 to his death he filled the chair of English at the University, where he became widely known as a forceful and elegant writer, an erudite critic, and a great teacher. He was an authority on all matters connected with his department.

⁴See "Dr. Samuel M. Meek," in William R. Smith's *Reminiscences* (1889), pp. 145-7; "Benjamin F. Meek," in Smith and DeLand's *Northern Alabama*, pp. 524-5; "A. B. Meek," in Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 421-2; Smith's *Reminiscences*, pp. 315-344; Garrett's *Reminiscences*, pp. 711-13, and Appleton's *Cyclopedia of Biography*, vol. iv, p. 286. See also *University Register*, pp. 14, 19, 29, 32, 33.

He was a member of the Order of Odd Fellows. A member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, he was faithful to his vows, and served the Tuscaloosa Station as Sunday-school superintendent for over a quarter of a century. He was the lay delegate from the North Alabama Conference to the Methodist Ecumenical Conference, held at London, some years since. In September, 1889, he married Nettie, a daughter of F. F. Hemphill, Esq., of Tuscaloosa, but he leaves no descendants. He was as gentle as a woman, but was as strong as adamant in support of his convictions. His life was earnest, and duty was his watchword. He died, as he had ever wished, literally "in the harness." He united with the Historical Society in its early years, and served three terms as its President, 1882-5.

III. THE WORK OF THE SOUTH IN BUILDING THE UNITED STATES.¹

BY DR. WILLIAM ROBERTSON GARRETT, of Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. President, Members of the Alabama Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I was so much gratified at receiving your invitation to deliver the annual address before your Society, that I promptly accepted. Upon further reflection, I felt that I had no right to accept the honor and pleasure which you offered me without returning you adequate compensation. You have a right to expect a paper of historical value, carefully prepared after due research, and such a paper should be devoted to some topic of Alabama history. Finding my time so much occupied with duties which required my attention, I felt that it would be impossible for me to prepare such a paper, and that I should be compelled to decline the courteous invitation unless I should be permitted to take a subject more general in its character, relating to Southern history, and deliver upon this subject an extemporaneous address. I am thus before you without a written paper, and shall devote the time assigned to me to the consideration of a subject which I have had in mind for many years and have often presented to our teachers' institutes and associations, and to which I have directed the attention of my college classes in history, but which has never been reduced to writing, except in a much more extended form than it could be presented to you on this occasion.²

Your Society has recently devoted so much attention to the development of history in the Southern States that I hope you will feel an interest in the subject which I have selected,

“THE WORK OF THE SOUTH IN BUILDING THE UNITED STATES.”

It is a source of pleasure and inspiration to all who feel an in-

¹Delivered at the annual meeting, June 19, 1899.

²Reference is made to a chapter by the speaker on “The South as a Factor in the Territorial Expansion of the United States,” in vol. i, pp. 159-246, of a twelve volume work entitled *Confederate Military History* (Atlanta, Ga.) In the preface to this vol. is a sketch of Dr. Garrett.

terest in the development of Southern history to note the recent progress which has been made by the Alabama Historical Society. With this annual meeting you close the 19th century with a record of progress, which has laid the foundation for valuable work in the coming twentieth century, and you afford an example by which other Southern States may profit.

It is gratifying to learn that your Society has enlisted the coöperation of your State University and of your enlightened young men. The arrangement by which you hold your annual meetings in the university hall as a part of the commencement exercises testifies to your wisdom, and confers upon you and the university a mutual benefit. It extends the influence of your Society to the coming men of the State, who will repay you by their enthusiastic devotion to historical research and literature. No better means could be devised to make your Society efficient and perpetual.

It is a benefit to the State to enlist in the cause of history the coming generation, and it is the best means to reform the culpable negligence which the Southern people have shown in the perpetuation of their own history in the past. Like all the other Southern States, the early history of Alabama is rich in pioneer legends and romantic incidents. It is the duty of the present generation to repair, as far as possible, the negligence of their ancestors in collecting and preserving it. Your pioneer ancestors acted in the obscurity of the wilderness parts fit to adorn the theater of the world. All unconscious of their greatness, they left their deeds to dwell only in the silent memory of those whom they served. From the scant records and imperfect traces which they have left behind, their memories must be rescued from oblivion. It is time to gather this material, and it is a source of congratulation that your Historical Society has evinced such deep interest and has made such accurate research. In this work, the coöperation of your State University and the other educational institutions of your State will be of the greatest value; bringing to your aid the trained intellects and patient research of learned professors, and the energy and enthusiasm of your growing young men. It is also gratifying to note that you are sustained by the strong hand of the State. The recent action of your Legislature, making an appropriation for the purpose of historical investigation, is a source of congratulation to you and an exam-

ple to other States. It is a duty which a State owes to itself and to its citizens to provide the means for preserving all that is valuable in its own history, and to record the deeds of its great men.

The recent progress of your Society, which has been so wisely planned and so admirably executed by your efficient Secretary, has placed Alabama in the foreground of Southern States in historical work. The information contained in the *Transactions* of your Society is valuable not only to the citizens of your own State, but to all students of history, and I know no contribution to State history which contains more valuable matter than the volume which has just been issued. But the interest of your Society in history extends not only to its pioneer period. It is a sacred duty to preserve the records of the present, and of the recent past. The reputation of your State has been fully maintained in more recent times. The heroes of peace who have framed your laws, administered justice, developed your resources; the heroes of war who have rendered you illustrious in the Confederate War and in the Spanish War; the gallantry of your private soldiers, the virtue of your private citizens, the development of your institutions—all these demand the pen of the historian. It is gratifying to find that they have all received attention in the volume of your *Transactions* to which I have alluded.

I wish that time had permitted me to prepare a sketch of some one of the many great men of your State. It would be to me a congenial task to speak of the distinguished warrior whose lead I followed for many months in the Confederate War, and who is beloved and honored by all the people of the United States—a hero of two Wars—General Joseph Wheeler; but I must pass to my allotted subject and consider the work of the South in building the United States.

In one important respect, in fact many respects, the history of the United States differs from the history—transcends the history of any other country in the world. Its boundaries have never receded. Not one square inch of territory that was ever the property of the United States has ever afterwards belonged to any other power. This was once the boast of Rome, but Rome has crumbled in the dust, and it is now true of no great power in the world except the United States.

Every great war in which we have ever been engaged has been

immediately followed by an acquisition of territory. We boast that ours is the land of liberty, and so it is; but we have grown up by successive wars and successive acquisitions of territory, which have been so interspersed along our history that they form the true key to our chronology. Not its successive political administrations, but its successive epochs of life in the acquisition of territory, should furnish the true principle upon which the history of our country should be taught to our children.

The acquisition of every square inch of this territory, previous to 1898, with one exception, is due to Southern statesmanship, and the title deeds are signed by Southern statesmen. This is the contribution which the South, as one of the sections of this country, and as one of the factors in our upbuilding, has given to the United States.

In building a country so vast in extent, so wonderful in growth, so grand in its institutions, so immense in its power, there must be many factors. No single section has built or could build the United States. Each section has contributed its respective part, in accordance with the genius and characteristics of its people. The territorial extension is the peculiar work of the South.

I have made some very broad assertions. Will you go with me to the records and investigate their truth? Here (referring to a map upon the wall) is the original map of the United States, the United States of the Revolution, the United States of the Confederation, the United States of Washington, and of Adams; extending from the line of Florida, which then belonged to Spain, up to the Great Lakes; from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River. This map, copied from an old map published in London in 1763, shows the thirteen original States; Virginia extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River, from the Carolina line up to the Great Lakes, great in territory, resources and population; North Carolina extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River; South Carolina in the shape of an inverted chalk pipe with its singular little strip of territory twelve miles wide and four hundred long; Georgia extending likewise from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River and reaching south to the Florida line; these four great Southern States then occupying more than two-thirds of the territory acquired from Great Britain by the treaty of Paris.

The second map (pointing to another map on the wall) shows

the United States of to-day, except Alaska, and the acquisition of 1898. Our first war was the War of the Revolution, from 1775 to 1781, by which we acquired our original territory. Next came our quarrel with France. We may call it a war, for actual hostilities occurred on the ocean. It closed in 1800, and was followed in 1803 by the acquisition of the Province of Louisiana. This immense territory extended from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canada line, and from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains. Our next war growing out of the purchase of Louisiana, and a logical sequence of the transactions, was our second war with Great Britain, closing in 1815. As a corollary came the complications with Spain, and the Indian wars, followed by the acquisition of Florida in 1819, and the confirmation of our title to Oregon. Our next war was the war with Mexico, preceded in 1845 by the acquisition of Texas, and followed in 1848 by the acquisition of the extensive Mexican cession, which included California and other States and Territories; this cession being completed in 1853 by the Gadsden purchase.

It now remains to show that the acquisition of this immense territory was the work of Southern statesmen and Southern statesmanship. Before entering on this discussion, let us consider two things which the student of American history is apt to overlook. 1st. While it is true that we are apparently separated from the rest of the world, and that the broad Atlantic rolls between us and Europe, yet there has never been an important era or turning point in our history that has not been influenced by the condition of affairs in Europe. 2nd. Let us glance a moment at one element necessary to the greatness of any country. No country was ever great until it had a wide extent of territory. Greece, while a little peninsula jutting out into the Mediterranean, did indeed possess a population of genius and intelligence, but she did not reach power and influence until after her fleets spread over the Mediterranean, and until finally her conquering phalanx overran the known world, and Alexander wept because there were no more worlds to conquer. Her sister peninsula, Rome, stretching likewise out into the Mediterranean, exerted no controlling influence until her victorious legions had carried the Roman eagles under Scipio into Africa, under Pompey into Asia, and under Caesar into Gaul and Britain; subduing a wider world than Alexander had conquered, and reaching the *ultima thule*.

The same is true of French, Spanish and Asiatic domination. What power did the English race possess while confined to the little British Isle? Britain's greatness began when her navy won for her the domination of the ocean, and placed upon her mast-head, "Britannia rules the seas." Then began the spreading of her territory until now, in the language of Daniel Webster, "the sun never sets upon her dominions, and her morning drum-beats circle round the world, keeping company with the hours." No nation can reach greatness or power until it rests upon the strong foundation of a wide extent of territory.

Let us next consider these several acquisitions in succession, beginning with our original territory. The first step in the growth of the country beyond the limits of the settled territory which stretched along the Atlantic coast was the crossing of the Ohio River. Had that river been our northern boundary, we could never have reached our present state of power and greatness. In 1773 the Parliament of Great Britain, foreseeing the struggle with her colonies, and knowing that Canada would remain loyal to her interests, passed a bill to annex all the territory northwest of the Ohio River to Canada. The validity of this act was not conceded by Virginia, which State was then in actual possession of the territory. Early in the war Great Britain occupied the disputed territory with a military force. Virginia appealed to Congress in vain to expel the British troops. Congress at that time could not muster sufficient force to defend the homes and firesides of the people, and thought Virginia was asking too much in demanding troops to protect her outlying possessions, and to defend a wilderness. The State of Virginia then fitted out an expedition under George Rogers Clark, of State troops in State pay, drove the British from her territory, and held it in the name of the State.

At the close of the war, when Great Britain expressed at Paris her willingness to concede the independence of the United States, negotiations were suspended for nearly two years on the question of the northern boundary line. France, our constant friend, the friend of our youth, the friend who stood by us in the struggle for independence, anxious for peace, implored us to accept independence on the conditions which Great Britain offered, and to take the Ohio River as our northern boundary. It was finally, by the persistence of our commissioners, who declared they would

never abandon one foot of the territory of any State, and upon the principle of *uti posseditis*, that our boundary went north of the Ohio River. Bancroft and all historians concede the crossing of the Ohio River to be due entirely to the Virginia expedition of George Rogers Clark.

Let us next look at the settlement of this western territory, and its division into States. The most remarkable spectacle is presented that can be found in the history of nations. Engaged in a desperate struggle for existence with the greatest power in the world on land and sea were thirteen separate sparsely settled colonies, whose government was a rope of sand, without an executive, without a judiciary, having no features of a general government except a congress depending upon general consent, without power to pass a law, to contract a debt, or to levy a tax, owning not a foot of land or a dollar of money. The poets tell us of living on love, but here is the case of a government administered by love. I honor constitutions and laws, but there are no ties that bind men together like the ties of brotherhood and love. It was such sentiments as these, and not constitutions or laws, or forms of government, that won the battles of the Revolution and the liberties of America.

Yet the necessity for a stronger government was felt by all our people. Congress accordingly proposed a form of government, embraced in a compact known as "The Articles of Confederation," and further proposed, as a preliminary to the formation of a general union, that all States owning unsettled western territory should cede it to the general government, to be divided by Congress into territories of convenient size, which upon acquiring sufficient population should be admitted as States. One purpose of this suggestion was to place in the hands of Congress a financial resource in the sale of public lands. The proposition also sprung from a feeling of jealousy on the part of the smaller States, located to the northeast, who entertained grave fears, which a glance at the map will serve to justify, about entering into a close union with such powerful States as Virginia, which they feared would soon by the settlement of its western territory and by its central position, wield an overpowering influence. The proposition was at first met by a positive refusal on the part of Virginia. Notwithstanding this refusal, all the States consented to the Articles of Confederation except Maryland. This State

signified an unwillingness to join the Union until Virginia ceded the northwest territory. Thus, as unanimous consent was required, the formation of the Union was held in abeyance during the entire struggle of the Revolution.

Although Virginia was in actual possession, rival claims were advanced to portions of the territory. Massachusetts and Connecticut claimed respectively the belts included within their lines of latitude. New York advanced a claim, based on cessions from the Indians, which New York ceded to Congress. Time will not permit a discussion of these claims. Finally, during the Christmas of 1780, the Legislature of Virginia passed a bill, to which Gov. Thomas Jefferson affixed his signature January 2nd, 1781, (making the greatest Christmas gift on record,) conveying to the United States the largest body of land that in the history of the world has ever been ceded by a powerful State, able to defend it, without bloodshed. On the same day on which the cession was conveyed to Congress, Maryland signed the Articles of Confederation, and the union of the States was begun. Subsequently Massachusetts and Connecticut ceded their claims. South Carolina ceded the strip of territory twelve miles wide, which extended to the Mississippi. Thus the four great Southern States stripped themselves of their territory to appease all causes of jealousy, and to cement the Union.

It is now idle to indulge in theories of what might have been the fate of this country, if these four great Southern States had adhered to their western lands with the tenacity usually shown by powerful States, able to defend them. It is sufficient to say, that their action stimulated the magical growth of the west, that it gave evidence of confidence and brotherhood which knew "no narrow limit of State-lines—no pent up Utica." This great sacrifice was the most magnanimous act of history, and it laid in love the foundations of the United States.

We have now made a brief review of the history of the territory acquired by the Revolutionary War, and have seen the part performed by the South in the crossing of the Ohio River, and in the cession of the western lands.

Our next war was with France, closing in 1800. Its duration was so brief and its operations so distant from our shores, that we do not usually reckon it with our wars, and allude to it merely as a quarrel. It was followed by the acquisition of Louisiana,

and this acquisition was the work of the South. This brings us to the crossing of the Mississippi, our first giant stride to the Pacific. If the finger of Providence is revealed in pointing the way across the Ohio, how much more plainly is it shown in the crossing of the Mississippi. We think that our ancestors were heroes. So they were, yet they were but human. They could not create the circumstances which enabled us to acquire the province of Louisiana. It needed a revolution in Europe, and a corresponding revolution in the political parties of the United States. I said that every era, every great turning point in our history, was dependent upon the condition of affairs in Europe. This was conspicuously illustrated in the acquisition of Louisiana. It is unnecessary to recite the well known historical events following the close of the French and Indian war when Great Britain and France and Spain were contending for the possession of America. France, like a polite Frenchman, made a bow and retired from the contest, giving all territory east of the Mississippi River to Great Britain, and all west of it to Spain, saying, "Gentlemen, settle it between you." Thus Louisiana became the property of Spain.

Of all the powers of the world, Spain was the most opposed to our institutions and our ideas. If this province had remained the property of Spain, she would have held on to it, as she did to her South American possessions, until finally it was filled with a population which would rebel and shake off her nerveless grasp. Instead of contributing to our power and greatness, Louisiana would now face us across the Mississippi River, a rival kingdom or a rival republic. Just in time for us, the meteor of the French Revolution swept across the sky of Europe. Napoleon Bonaparte arose and dictated to the nations. He had humbled at his feet, either by conquest or by fear, all the powers of Europe except Great Britain. He was planning an expedition against England, and he needed a navy. To build a navy he needed money. It was at this time that he dictated the treaty by which he obtained Louisiana from Spain. What did Napoleon want with Louisiana? He acquired it by secret treaty, yet communicated this treaty to the United States with the announcement that he intended to colonize the territory. He knew that France had been compelled to give up her American possessions for lack of a navy, and his penetrating genius could not fail to see that France could not

hold colonies across the ocean, three thousand miles away, in the face of the navies of Great Britain, which then ruled the seas. The great purpose in his mind was to invade and destroy Great Britain. He would then indeed be master of the world. His conversations with Marbois show that if he entertained any serious thought of colonizing Louisiana, this purpose was speedily removed by the representations of Jefferson through his ambassadors.

Let us now glance at the corresponding political revolution which took place in America. I need not recite that the first political party which took control of the government was the Federal Party. All are familiar with the quarrels in Washington's cabinet, and with the rise of the new party. This new party was the parent of the Democratic Party, and to distinguish it from the Republican Party of to-day, it is sometimes designated as the Democratic-Republican Party. This new party differed from the Federal Party on the great question of State's rights; the Federal Party favoring such a construction of the Constitution as would increase the power of the general government, the Republican Party favoring a construction as would limit the power of the general government and protect the rights and powers of the States. This question has now become one of prejudice and appeals to men's hearts, but at that day it was purely a question of construction, a question of the head, and not of the heart. There was another question which arose to touch men's hearts. In the great contest that was going on across the water, England and France were engaged in a death grapple. The sympathies of this country were aroused, one party favoring England and the other France. We may well understand how it awoke to music every chord in the hearts of our ancestors. On the one side was France engaged in this desperate struggle, France our friend, the friend of our infancy; France, who stood by us in all our conflicts; France, the blood of whose sons mingled with ours upon the plains of Yorktown; France, who had modeled and changed all her institutions in her admiration and love for the institutions and people of this country. Her cause was espoused by Jefferson, followed by his new party. On the other side was our mother country. The war was over, and its passions were subsiding. Our independence was established. Jay's treaty, although unpopular at first, had served to reopen the avenues

of trade and communication with England, and to excite hostilities with France. The hearts of our ancestors were turning back with softened sentiments to the land of their fathers, and were renewing the associations of kindred and friendship. It seemed that the Federal Party, the friend of England, was striking the popular chord, yet, just at this critical moment, the Federal Party committed a political blunder. They enacted what are known as the Alien and Sedition Laws. The great political leader, Thomas Jefferson, skillfully seized the advantage. The tide was turned. Jefferson was elected President of the United States, and the Republican Party, the friend of France, came into power. Looking over the field, their great leader saw that the triumph was but temporary, and he sought for means to render it permanent. Thus it happened that the two great minds of the world turned at the same time to Louisiana. Napoleon saw in it the means of obtaining a navy, of strengthening the French party in America, and of humbling the pride of Great Britain; when the treaty was signed he turned to Marbois and said, "I have given Great Britain a rival." Thomas Jefferson saw in it the first step of his country to greatness, and the permanent triumph of the political party of which he was the father. He said, "It is an opportunity snatched from fate."

Let us see how far these great minds looked into the future. As soon as Napoleon purchased the province from Spain by secret treaty, he notified Jefferson. As soon as Jefferson learned of the purchase, he sent Mr. Monroe to assist Mr. Livingston, and instructed them to purchase, if possible, the island of Orleans and the Floridas, in order to obtain control of the mouth of the Mississippi. Napoleon replied, "You may have the whole province." The bargain was concluded, Napoleon used the money to build a navy, and assembled his army at a point on the French coast. He ordered his admiral, Villeneuve, to move out of the English Channel as if intending to go to the West Indies, to induce Lord Nelson to follow, then to evade him and return and throw Napoleon's army across the channel for the purpose of moving upon London and destroying the power of Great Britain. Villeneuve moved out of the channel as directed. Lord Nelson, completely deceived, went entirely across the Atlantic Ocean, and did not discover his mistake until he had reached the West Indies. But Villeneuve was in turn deceived. When he reached

the English Channel the fleet under Lord Collingwood, which had been left to guard the channel, maneuvered in such a way as to convince Villeneuve that Lord Nelson was still there. While waiting for the Spanish fleet a storm arose, and he was driven upon the Spanish coast, and when he had repaired his vessels and was again ready to take the offensive, Lord Nelson returned and was indeed before him. Then came the great battle of Trafalgar, and the navy bought with the purchase money of Louisiana was sunk to the bottom of the ocean. Had the genius of Napoleon been able to reach out over the ocean as it reached out over the land, the history of the world would have been different. He recast the map of Europe. At his downfall it was erased as the teacher erases from the blackboard the map that has been used by the class; but across the ocean, three thousand miles away from the theater of his exploits, still remains Louisiana, the only handwriting of Napoleon now on the map of the world. So wonderful is it, that humanity can reach across the waters wherever humanity exists, and exert its influence on humanity, as the heavenly bodies reach across space and control each other's movements.

Let us next look at the sentiment with which the purchase of Louisiana was viewed in our own country, and the effects of its acquisition. At this day we can hardly believe that this acquisition met with active and violent opposition. Yet such was the case. When the treaty was concluded, a swift vessel was sent to the United States to notify President Jefferson. When the messenger reached here, we may well imagine that Thomas Jefferson spent a restless night. In the contest in Washington's cabinet between Jefferson and Hamilton, both of these great men had gone to extremes which both of them were afterwards compelled to abandon. Jefferson had asserted that the United States had no right to acquire and hold foreign territory, that such was not among the enumerated powers of Congress. The Federal Party now retorted upon him his State's Rights doctrine. To meet these objections, he proposed an amendment to the Constitution. "Louisiana as ceded by France to the United States, is made a part of the United States." He wrote to Mr. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, and other leaders of the Republican Party in the Senate, expressing his fear of opposition to the treaty, and urging the early attendance of the western members. The West

at that day meant those States erected out of the territory ceded by the Southern States.

Mr. Breckenridge, Mr. Nicholas and others maintained the inherent right of the United States to acquire foreign territory, and finally dissuaded Jefferson from his proposed constitutional amendment. In his message he recommended Congress to take measures for the "immediate occupation and temporary government of the country, and for its incorporation into the Union." The treaty was ratified in the Senate by a vote of 26 to 6. All the six votes cast against the treaty were from New England, and all were Federalists.

When I cast my eyes around me upon this assembly, I see many faces which are young and fresh and fair. Time has not wrinkled the brow nor silvered the locks. I see others present whose heads are covered with gray, and whose brows are furrowed with thought and care, whose memories will recall the events and scenes of forty years ago. Do you remember the time when this whole country from the profound repose of peace was suddenly converted into an armed camp? Do you remember how the young men, arrayed in military costume, looked bright and ardent, and the old men looked very grave? Do you remember, as the troops marched through the streets, how the flags waved, and bright eyes glanced from the windows and balconies, and merry voices cheered the soldier boys on? Do you remember any of the speeches? Did you ever hear such language as this, "If this policy is pursued we must leave this union, peaceably if we can; violently if we must?" These are burning words, strong, manly, and eloquent. Who spoke them? Is this the language of some South Carolina fire-eater? Was it an emanation from the "hot-bed of treason" at Montgomery? No, fellow-citizens, if you heard these words in 1861, they were borrowed, they were quoted. These words fell for the first time from eloquent lips, but not from southern lips. This was the language of Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, on the floor of Congress in 1811, on the question of the admission of the State of Louisiana. It was the continuation of the bitter opposition to the purchase of the province of Louisiana in 1803, and to the whole policy of territorial extension. This opposition extended all along the North Atlantic coast. In the Senate Mr. Pickering, of Massachusetts, argued that the treaty was unconstitutional. Uriah Tracy, of

Connecticut said, "Consent can never be obtained to such a pernicious measure as the admission of Louisiana, of a world, and such a world, into our Union. This would be absorbing the Northern States and rendering them as insignificant in the Union as they ought to be, if, by their own consent, the new measure should be adopted." Said Mr. James White, of Delaware: "We have already territory enough, and when I contemplate the evils that may arise to these States from this intended incorporation of Louisiana into the Union, I had rather see it given to France, to Spain, or to any other nation of the earth, upon the mere condition that no citizen of the United States should ever settle within its limits."

In the House a similar debate occurred on the bill to provide for carrying the treaty into effect. It passed by a vote of ninety yeas and twenty-five nays. The nays were one from Vermont, five from Connecticut, nine from Massachusetts, three from New York, two from New Hampshire, one from Maryland, four from Virginia. Thus the policy of Jefferson was triumphant, and Louisiana was won by Southern statesmen, and Southern votes. I have recounted the incidents in some detail, to show that its acquisition is due to Southern persistence, and was carried over strong opposition.

Let us now consider the effects of this acquisition. It led inevitably to our next great war, the second war with Great Britain. The British lion had marked out Louisiana for his prey, and he now began to growl. The British statesmen saw that Jefferson, the leader of the Republican Party and the friend of France, had firmly established his party in power, and had made Louisiana the grave of the Federal Party. The war in which they soon became involved with France revealed to them the truth of Napoleon's remark, "I have given Great Britain a maritime rival, which will sooner or later humble her pride." The rapid growth of the American merchant marine alarmed them, as they saw American ships become the carriers of European trade. The limits of this address do not admit of a discussion of the steps taken by Great Britain to limit our commerce and oppress our seamen. It culminated in the war of 1812.

Napoleon withheld his movement against Russia until he saw England involved in the war with the United States. It is not my purpose to recount the events of the campaign, either in Europe

or America, and the danger which threatened us when Napoleon was overthrown by the combined powers of Europe. Had not individual jealousies restrained these mighty combinations of Europe, their overwhelming power might have been hurled against us, the ally of Napoleon, and the representative of those theories which the European monarchs detested.

Our war with Great Britain closed in 1815 with the brilliant battle of New Orleans, in which "Old Hickory" defeated the troops of the "Iron Duke." The news of this battle and of Napoleon's escape from Elba reached the Congress of Nations at Vienna on the same day. As a continuation of this war and as a logical sequence, came the complications with Spain and the Indian wars under Jackson, terminating in 1819 with the treaty by which we acquired Florida and the confirmation of our title to Oregon. I cannot go into a detailed account of the political aspect of affairs at the time. An examination of history will prove to the inquirer that this war was opposed by the Northeastern States, and its inception, its prosecution, and its results were the work of Southern statesmen and Southern policy, and that James Monroe signed the title deeds to Florida.

I must allude briefly to the Mexican War. It is within the memory of some here present that this war was preëminently a Southern war. I have not time to recount the causes which forced the Southern leaders to become the authors of the Mexican War. The settlement of Louisiana territory, leading to the agitation of the slavery question; the Missouri compromise; the settlement of the Indian territory, limiting the slave area; the contest for the balance of power in the Senate—all formed a chain of causes impelling the South to favor the acquisition of additional territory. Texas afforded the opportunity.

A governor of Tennessee resigned his position and organized Texas. Tennessee became "The Volunteer State." Southern statesmen urged the war, and Southern votes maintained it. Of all our wars, it was the only one waged for conquest. We put the iron heel on the neck of Mexico, and deprived her of her possessions. Whatever of glory and whatever of shame attach to such a course belong of right to the South, because it was a Southern war, and was opposed by Northern sentiment. It was preceded in 1845 by the acquisition of Texas, and the title deeds were signed by John Tyler. It was followed in 1848 by the

acquisition of the extensive Mexican cession, which extended from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, embracing California and other valuable possessions. The title deeds were signed by James K. Polk. In 1853 the Gadsden purchase followed as a logical sequence of the Mexican cessions. The title deeds were signed by Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire. This is the only instance, previous to 1898, in which the title deeds to acquired territory were signed by any other than a Southern president; and in this case, the acquisition was but a corollary of the Southern policy.

Alaska is the only territory secured by Northern policy. The wisdom of territorial extension had been demonstrated. It was recognized by Mr. Seward, by whose wise policy Alaska was acquired. The treaty was confirmed by Northern votes. Yet, by a remarkable coincidence, when the title deeds came to be signed they bore the signature of a Southern president, Andrew Johnson.

It only remains to allude briefly to the acquisitions of 1898, including Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands. How shall I class Cuba? These acquisitions cannot be called the work of any section. It was a general uprising of the people, in which all sections took part, inflamed by the destruction of the Maine. These events are so near to the present that they belong as yet to the province of the statesmen, and have not passed into the province of the historian. The question naturally springs in our mind, shall the South adhere to the policy of expansion, which originated with the Southern section, which has made the United States illustrious in war, great in peace, and elevated our country to the head of the powers of the earth? Will these acquisitions, together with the completion of the canal, bring to the South a special sectional benefit by transferring the lead in commerce and manufacture from the Atlantic coast to the Gulf of Mexico? But I must forbear. "History is past politics," and the historian must refrain from the discussion of pending questions.

I see in the audience people from the North, and people from the South. I love them all. Have I spoken the language of a partisan? No; I have spoken of sections, such was my distinct purpose. I have breathed no word of animosity; it is not in my breast. Why, then, it may be asked, do you rehearse all these sectional matters? Would you tell all this to our children? Would you tell them about the Civil War? Yes, I would tell

them. I have no sympathy with the effort to make believe that there has been no war, or to pretend that there are no sections. We had a great Civil War. Let no American be ashamed of it. It was the greatest internal contest which history records. It is America's proudest title to martial glory, and the grandest contribution which the nineteenth century has made to human greatness. Our children of all sections should be proud of it, and should transmit it to posterity as the joint heritage of all Americans. In transmitting it, let us tell the truth, and accord to each section its share of glory. Let us not attempt to disguise that this Union is marked by geographical sections. These sections have been the several factors of its upbuilding, and they must ever be the factors in its maintenance. I would tell all these things to our children, to make our children patriots. We belong to the great Anglo-Saxon race, the race of statesmen and of heroes. After the conquering races had commingled their blood in the British Isles, the nursing ground of the heroic English race, their descendants began to spread over the world, and have everywhere been its leaders. We belong to this race of strong passions; we know how to love, and how to hate. We can love no country which humiliates us. If we wish our children to love the United States, we must make them proud of the United States. We must point out to them the part which our ancestors took in its formation and its upbuilding. We must not permit the false lesson to be imparted that our ancestors were drones in this hive, and mere participants in the blessings which other sections have conferred. Such ideas should be corrected, not only at the South, but throughout the Union. If any writer of history shall succeed by false representations in creating an impression that any one section of this country is inferior to the others, or shall persuade the other sections to look upon it with fixed sentiments of hostility or reproach, he will sow the seeds of disruption. No section of this country will submit to long continued contumely. Then I would tell the whole truth to our children. I would point out to them the map of the territorial growth. I would say to them: "Behold the work of your fathers, written in the real estate of the country. It was their great contribution to the upbuilding of the Union which they loved. It is the stone which Southern genius and Southern patriotism laid in the foundation of the United States." But I would not stop the lesson

here. With equal candor and with sincere pride, I would point out to them the work and distinctive genius of other sections. I would tell them that this Union was built by many factors. No one factor could have built it. The South alone could not have done it; the North could not have done it; nor the East; nor the West. It needed the peculiar genius of each, and the combined energy of all. No similar spectacle of national development was ever presented to the world—so vast, so excellent, so rapid, so permanent. Even its internal struggles are evidences of its strength. Its powers of recuperation bear witness to its healthy constitution, and demonstrate that its growth has been directed and its centrifugal and centripetal forces have been regulated by the same power which controls the planets in their orbits.

I would point out to our children, then, the work of other sections in settling and developing the resources of the vast territories which were acquired by the policy of the South. We are not the authors of the wonderful commercial and industrial development of the country.

When we compare the wealth of our Southern States with the wealth of the States of New England of one-third the size, we must admit that in the race for creating wealth we have been far outstripped. Neither has our genius led us to accomplish the miracies of enterprise which have so distinguished the West. We are not the authors—we have not been leaders in the miraculous material and industrial development of the country.

The South is like a great statesman, who has won in public life the love of his friends and the admiration of the world, yet he has neglected his private fortunes. Oppressed with debt, checked in his career by the want of pecuniary resources, the reins of power and influence fall from his grasp, and he pays the penalty which all must pay who neglect their private affairs. If the crash comes early in life, he may retire awhile from the public service, repair his fortunes, lay the foundations of an independent income, and return with matured purpose to a career of public usefulness amid universal confidence and applause. Such is the meaning of the New South. It is the legitimate offspring of the Old South, not an importation from abroad, not a galvanized corpse worked into life by batteries from without; but a healthy expansion of forces from within. We will have larger cities, more stately edifices, richer men, wealthier corporations, more varied

interests, more widely diffused intelligence; but we will never have a higher social order, grander men, or more divine women than the men and women of the Old South.

Demanding justice to our own section, let us be just to all others. The patriot who loves the whole country should love all its parts. Let us never stifle these emotions of patriotism which spring spontaneously in the breast of the generous man. Shall we live without patriotic emotions? We have no other country; let us love our native land. Let us teach our children the nobler sentiments of Webster, when he alluded to the great men of South Carolina: "I claim them for countrymen," he said. "I claim part of the honor, I partake in the pride of their great names—Americans all."

Let us point out also to our people and to our children the flag of our country as an object lesson of patriotism. That star-spangled banner can never wave without unfolding the same story as told by this map of our territorial growth. Look upon those stars. Who placed them there? See the constellation of thirteen stars that answer to the name of the original States? Who placed them in that firmament? Who placed the stars that answer to the States carved out of the ceded Western territory? Who placed the stars that answer to the States carved out of the province of Louisiana? Who placed the stars that answer to the State of Florida and of the States carved out of Oregon territory? Who placed the Lone Star of Texas? Who placed the Golden Star that answers to California? Who placed the stars that answer to the States carved out of the Mexican cessions? Let us honor the flag that cannot wave without testifying to the great work of the South. Long may the stars in its firmament proclaim the glory of the Union and all its sections, as the stars of heaven sing together for glory.

IV. RELICS AND ANTIQUITIES.¹

BY MRS. WILLIAMS EDWIN SORSBY,² of Birmingham.

When the Literary Clubs convened in Selma last year (1898) they were given for discussion "The Ideal Federation and How to Attain It." Many delegates shook their heads in despair, as though they doubted this "consummation devoutly to be wished." Were all such doubters here to-day I believe they would agree with me that the problem is solved—the ideal organization is attained in the Alabama Historical Society. Together, as children, we cluster about our mother-state, looking up to her for inspiration and instruction. Together, we search for truths of the foundation of our great commonwealth, and learn of those early settlers who so bravely widened for us the forest paths. We realize that one by one, year by year, those pioneers have preceded us

¹Read at the annual meeting, June 19, 1899.

²Mrs. Idyl King Sorsby, daughter of Nathaniel Ragan and Salome (Sibley) King, was born in Baldwin Co., Ala. Her father was a graduate of the S. C. College, and a member of the Alabama H. of R., 1855-6. Her grandfather, Edmond King, son of Edmond and Elizabeth (Thomas) King, of Halifax Co., Va., in 1818 located as a planter near the present Montevallo, Shelby Co., Ala. His wife was Nancy Ragan, whom he married in Franklin Co., Ga., while in business there. Edmond King, Sr., is the ancestor of the King, Henley and Bush families of Alabama and Miss., and of Miss Grace King, the authoress, of New Orleans. The parents of Salome Sibley were Origen Sibley (born in Thompson, Conn.), son of Col. Timothy (of Sutton, Mass.) and Annie (Waite) Sibley, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Aaron and Sarah (Kilcrease) Barlow. Origen Sibley was the brother of Cyrus Sibley, and uncle of Origen Sibley Jewett, both of Ala. The Barlows are from Va. and Ky. She was educated in Mobile and Ky.; has written for the press; is Director of the Department of History, Women's Club, in Birmingham; and is of historical and antiquarian tastes. Her husband, Williams Edwin Sorsby, is descended from the Fontaines, of Va., and the Sorsby-Williams families, of N. C. For genealogies and sketches of members of the above families, see "Edmond King," Sr., in *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, July 1895, p. 96; "Dr. Peyton King," in *Smith's History of Pickens Co., Ala.*, pp. 225-8, Miller's *Heads of the Alabama Legislature* (1843), p. 154, and Garrett's *Reminiscences*, p. 161; "Nathaniel R. King" and "John W. Henley," in Garrett, pp. 630, 297; "Robert H. Henley" and "Dr. A. T. Henley," in Teeple and Smith's *Jefferson County*, pp. 187, 301; "William Acklen," in Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 363, and Garrett, p. 383; "Origen Sibley Jewett," in Brewer, p. 180; "T. G. Bush," in *Memorial Record of Ala.*, vol. i, p. 585; West's *Ancestry of H. H. Sibley, First Gov. of Minn.* (1889); and D. H. Cram's *Genealogy of John James*.

to another unknown and better land—their voices are stilled—and our traditions must now become crystalized into history. We view with dismay the iconoclastic hand of progress obliterating old landmarks which it should be our glory to preserve.

Relics and antiquities are no longer a question of passing moment in this State; they have become an interest of increasing importance, and Alabama is rising with energy and enthusiasm to her rightful place in historical investigation.

There are grave disputes regarding the age of the world. Aristotle, Parmenides, Pythagoras, and the Chaldeans carried it even to eternity. The Scythians—Tartars and Chinese—"the first men," Phrygians, Chaldeans, Egyptians, Greeks and others, contend for priority in the habitation of the world. The Round Towers of Ireland still vex the antiquarian. Why shall not America seek to prove that civilization existed here, when others claim that she was plunged in barbarism? We are told that elephants and other animals came on land from Northeast Asia to Northwest America, and it is probable they were followed by wandering tribes who crossed Behring Strait when it was a mere stream. We know the peoples of Western North America resembled the Mongolian race.

However, the Mexican Indians claimed descent from Ham, second son of Noah, and their resemblance to Egyptians in physiognomy and character is so marked that many scientists claim there was formerly connecting land, or a since-submerged island chain, between South America and Africa.

Dr. Hicks and others assert that "pre-glacial man existed in the Valley of the Clwyd in North Wales two hundred and forty thousand years ago," and it is said that Missouri contains a formation similar to the Vale of Clwyd, though evidences of man are yet uncertain. We are still hoping for this evidence, as no fossil impresses us like that of man, and we long for something more interesting than the mastodon's tail found on Alabama's sea coast! Chinese accounts claim that America was visited by the Chinese more than fourteen hundred years ago, and their descriptions often resemble those of the Spaniards a thousand years after. The Chinese called our country "Fusany" after "a peculiar tree which corresponds exactly and remarkably with the Maquay tree" described by our own Prescott. It is stated that there was also a similarity of accent, religion, and customs existing at that

time, so emigration from China to America must have come ages before. Let us indulge the hope that even yet old records may be recovered in China, which will establish America as one of the most ancient of countries. Consider the "golden splendors and gorgeous civilizations of Mexico, Ecuador and Peru;" and do not forget that at New Orleans "skeleton and burnt wood found sixteen feet below the surface, beneath the fourth forest level," mean a repose of fifty-seven thousand years. Explorations of our Indian mounds, and our buried cities of the vast West, have clothed us with a "prehistoric past mysterious and overwhelming." They have opened to the world a new page of history and chronology, and we listen eagerly for the echoes of a great people that had passed away thousands of years before that "mummy walked the streets of Thebes." These marvelous mounds, crowned by "trees eight hundred years old"—these mounds filled with "exquisitely carved treasures, various articles of pottery and stone, terra-cotta vases, cinery urns, beautifully finished axes and pipe-heads"! In prehistoric times there must have been widespread intercourse, undreamed of now—else why the similarity in the Mexican Indian and the Egyptian, or why the discovery of the Chinese coins in Ireland, or why did one of our Mississippi mounds contain "the figure of a tortoise carved in Egyptian green porphyry, when the species represented is not to be met with on this continent, either alive or as a fossil," and when "the very counterpart of this tortoise, to the most minute particular" was shortly afterwards found in the British Museum, to which it had been forwarded from one of the tombs of Thebes?

There is a vase cut from a single emerald, preserved in a Cathedral of Genoa, Italy, six hundred years. Several locks must be opened to reach it, and the key of each lock is in the possession of a different man. It is publicly exhibited very rarely, and then only by order of the Senate. In 1476 a decree was passed, forbidding all persons to approach the priceless treasure too closely. An antiquarian advances the theory that it was one of the gifts made by Solomon to the Queen of Sheba, and he has written a book to prove his assumption. Nevertheless, its true origin is clothed in mystery—its flashing rays can throw no light upon its real past. Here we have a striking illustration of the importance of properly marking or labelling all rare relics and

specimens, that there may be no future uncertainty. So many mistakes have been made, and priceless treasures destroyed because succeeding generations knew nothing of the real value of these mementos of another's past.

I feel that this admirable Society will encourage Alabamians, old and young, to begin the collection and preservation of historical relics, and should itself take the initiative.

Patriotic parents make patriotic children; children who will glory in their State, and tenderly cherish memories of her past; children who will find inspiring music in the foam-capped Falls of Little River (in Cherokee Co., Ala.,) and legendary beauty in the reed-fringed bayous of the coast. Such a child was Salome Elizabeth Sibley, who more than fifty years ago undertook the collection and preservation of historical relics and genealogical data. She was a descendant of the most intellectual and cultured families of Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut. When I tell you she lived in Baldwin County, you must not picture the Baldwin of 1899, or the present—I would carry you back to the days when Blakeley was still a community; when spacious, hospitable homes abounded, and hundreds of happy, well-fed slaves kept the great flower yards in a wealth of bloom.

Out of the wreck of her cabinet of relics and curiosities³ are preserved two books which deserve special notice. One is *An Explicatory Catechism; or An Explanation of the Assemblies Shorter Catechism*, printed in London for George Calvert and others in

³In addition to those described, Mrs. Sorsby exhibited a large number of interesting objects, of which the following is an incomplete list:

Carved Figurante, from Switzerland, 1854.

Specimen, from Giant's Causeway.

Specimen, from the Coliseum, Rome, 1860.

Dark and White Mosaics, from the Bath of Caligula, Rome, 1860.

Specimen, from the Parthenon, Athens, 1860.

Sea Horse, from the Mediterranean.

Cone, from the Holy Land.

Sea Shell, from the Island of Ceylon.

Fragment of Rock, from Moro Castle, Havana.

Shell, from Moro Castle.

Crystals, from gravel drift near St. Paul, Minn., 1868.

Specimens, from Mammoth Cave, 1874.

Arrow Points, from the Shell banks in Baldwin Co., Ala.

Alligator Tooth, from a capture in Bay Minette, Ala.

Bullets and Powder, from New Orleans' Riot, Sept., 1874.

Program of Concert at Castle Garden, N. Y., 1853.

Montgomery Daily Mail, Monday, May 16, 1864.

Old Bill (\$150.00, or £45.), dated March 1, 1781.

1680, making it two hundred and nineteen years old; the other is *A New History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Accession of George III*, published in Glasgow in 1785, making this book one hundred and fourteen years old. There is also a copy of the first edition of Augusta J. (Evans) Wilson's *Macaria*. Quite a number of books, fifty to seventy-five years old, including Audubon's *Birds of America*, are still preserved; but the rare and magnificent *Indian Gallery* (Folio edition), containing beautifully executed colored pictures of famous Indians, was destroyed when the homestead (at Sibley Mills in Baldwin County) burned in 1870. The homestead had also been burned in April, 1865, and many other relics were then lost, notably a handsome vase of Carrara marble, petrified antlers from Washington County, Alabama, and others, which had graced the cabinet in its original completeness.

Through all the vicissitudes of war or fortune, she fondly clung to one most valued relic, a carved Indian head, representing the Apache Chief "Tashtigo." This carved head is said to be the only one of its kind, and a rare treasure, valued at a large sum. Her notes state:

"An aged uncle, Cyrus Sibley, who had settled in Alabama in the early part of the century found this head in one of the Indian mounds on a point, near Spanish Fort, Baldwin County. The head was three feet below the surface, and near it, was discovered the entire skeleton of an Indian in a sitting posture, leaning against the sub-terra trunk of a tree. The skeleton could not be removed as the bones disintegrated when exposed to the air. Appleton's *Journal* contained an account of this head and sketch of it. The article called forth multitudinous letters from all parts of the country, and the head was frequently shown to scientific men visiting Mobile. It was in the Alabama Exhibit at the New Orleans or Cotton States Exposition in 1885, and many propositions for the purchase of it were received. Later on, a friend requested, as a special favor, the pleasure of showing it to an archaeologist in Washington. Still later, a letter was received from the Smithsonian Institution desiring the head sent for inspection and probable purchase, but it was not sent."

It has been my privilege to visit these burial-mounds near the Fort, and elsewhere. The point, with its storm-swept cedars,

juts out near the mouth of Bay Minette. The shell-banks extend for several hundred yards, and the great number of huge mounds leads one to infer this was a popular Indian burial-ground long ago.

It is a lonely spot; the waves throb against the deserted shore; the silver-tipped gulls skim through the balmy air; the forest birds, true to the memory of the primitive owners of the sacred ground, trill plaintive notes, as if grieving for the untimely fate of the forgotten braves; and the golden bells of the jessamine, swaying gently to and fro, seem breathing requiem music.

Higher up the Apalache River below Blakeley, are two other shell-banks. I visited both localities a few years ago, and from the mounds near Blakeley excavated some crumbling bones. Even merry companions could not dispel gloomy sensations in that uncanny spot. It was thickly covered with small, tough trees, and only a few sunbeams flickered suspiciously about us, as if prying into our occupation and its cause. We knelt in a circle about the mound while two gentlemen of the party, with pick and hoe, did the preliminary opening-up; then we all went to work with a will. Many relics had already been taken from these mounds, so we found nothing of unusual interest. Some months ago a party was sent from the Smithsonian Institution to search and explore the Indian mounds in South Alabama, a locality formerly so rich in antiquities.

A very old letter describes a picnic at Spanish Fort long years ago—a "fish-fry" that is never to be forgotten. To me, Lake George looked less beautiful than did our Bay Minette that morning. Memory paints it afresh in its glory of springtime. The rippling of the high-water with its walls of foilage; the great clusters of bloom, and snow-drifts of titi blossoms; the air with the penetrating odor of pine needles and the heavier fragrance of the South's own magnolias; and the masses of pond-lilies, freighted with pollen-gold and subtle spicery, anchored like snowy fleets upon the bosom of the cool, dark bayous.

We left Sibley Mills (originally the property of Origen, not Cyrus Sibley) just at dawn. Eight or nine miles down a winding creek in row-boats is not "rapid transit," and the morning was well advanced when we reached our destination. The historic Fort (built by Governor Galvez about 1781, inseperably linked with the years of Spanish dominion, and only a few years before

the scene of our own great conflict) was full of interest to us, and we hastily climbed the hill for closer inspection. The only reminders of the Civil War were a rusty cannon, the celebrated "Lady Slocomb," banked in the battery, and the gloomy Yankee monitor "Milwaukee" lying out in front of us. This cannon was cast in the Confederate foundry at Selma, and did effective work during the siege of Spanish Fort. In 1890, she was selected to crown Mobile's "Blue and Gray" Peace Monument, but was never used, and has been memorialized in exquisite lines by Mr. W. S. McNeill, of that city. It was purchased by the Washington Artillery of New Orleans, formerly commanded by Capt. Slocomb, and was removed to New Orleans in 1899.⁴

During the siege, three ironclads of Farragut's fleet, the Osage, Rodolph and Milwaukee were sunk by torpedoes. I am informed the Osage was raised just after the war. The Rodolph, divested of machinery, etc., still lies in the mouth of the Apalache River, on the edge of the bar. The Milwaukee (Lieut. Com. J. H. Gillis) was struck by a torpedo, which exploded "on her portside, abaft the after turret, and about forty feet from the stern." This occurred near sunset March 28th, 1865. The stern sank in a few minutes, but the forward compartments struggled with the river nearly an hour before succumbing. A few years after the war she was raised, and taken away. Near Spanish Fort were the remains of the Military Bridge. Across the piling on narrow planks, passed about fourteen hundred disheartened Confederates, when the garrison evacuated the Fort in the early morning of Sunday, April 9, 1865. To prevent noise, the troops removed their shoes. The treadway across the marsh was only two feet wide, and passage on light-draught launches over to Batteries Huger and Tracey was necessarily slow. Even then, cheering was heard at McDermott, and soon after, on the road to Blakeley. Shells had whizzed closely over them, and the river bank was commanded by the batteries of the gigantic foe. At length, Col. Lockett, Chief Engineer, suggested that some of our troops "endeavor to make their way to Blakeley." He offered to guide them, so about a thousand marched to that place. The distance

⁴This gun was an 8-inch Columbiad, cast from Alabama iron. Its history has always provoked interest. The *Mobile Register*, Sept. 6, 1896, has a brief sketch, followed, in its issue of Jan. 3, 1897, by an exhaustive account of the Spanish Fort Fight and the services of this gun, prepared by J. A. Chaloron, of the 5th Company, Washington Artillery.

was five miles, and the route lay through mud, canebrake, thick underbrush, and bayous. Some of the weary men sank in the swamp, but were extricated by willing hands. From Blakeley they were transported to Mobile, where they were joined by their comrades. When the enemy saw our weary men boarding the transports, they thought the Confederates were evacuating Blakeley, and were much elated.

The assault on Blakeley, which was the last general engagement of the Civil War, took place Sunday afternoon, April 9th, 1865, some hours after Lee's surrender. The morning rose calm, and the skirmish line was remarkably quiet. In the forenoon there was a shower of rain. Toward evening dark clouds rolled up from the west. The crisis was at hand, but that gallant garrison quailed not. Courage and determination seemed to double their small force, and equal numbers could never have vanquished them. In our "Mobile Extra," the last published in that city before the surrender and dated Monday, April 10, 1865, we read:

FALL OF BLAKELEY.

"The enemy has finally captured Blakeley; it was accomplished after the most desperate charge, yesterday (Sunday) evening between five and six o'clock. The charge was made on the left of our line, which gave way, and the enemy rushed in and captured the whole garrison, including Generals Liddell, Cockrell and Thomas."

Our brave men were at bay; the deep, broad Tensas in the rear, and overwhelming numbers to the front. After a most desperate and heroic defense, they were forced to give up the unequal struggle, and it is said two thousand nine hundred and fifty-two surrendered.

We have all heard of those last momentous days in historic Baldwin; how the heavy foe, under Canby and Steele, was closing in about our thin lines, who fell back slowly but surely, closely contesting every mile of the ground.⁵

How many times as a child have I stooped for those rusty canteens whose contents had revived a weary or a dying soldier; how often have I played around those old trenches and batteries, and rested on the rudely-constructed benches under the pines! One pine, which I dubbed "the maimed soldier," on Saluda Ridge, had the entire top cut away by a cannon-ball, and many tall trees

⁵ Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 67-8, has a summary of war events in the State in the Spring of 1865.

on that elevation were converted into Yankee look-outs to watch our hostile maneuvers.

It seems impossible to leave Blakeley without a word of its early history. It was founded by Josiah Blakeley, formerly of New Haven, Conn., and chartered as a town by "the (Miss.) Territorial Legislature January 6th, 1814." As it had a deep water channel and numerous other advantages, its prosperity seemed assured. I have heard that Cyrus Sibley built the first modern store, and, in 1822, sold a half interest in it to his brother, Origen Sibley. But Blakeley was doomed. Some say high prices of land—others say a single epidemic of yellow fever—proved the fatal stab from which it never recovered. Little by little its life-blood ebbed away, and when I was last there, even the historic jail was in ruins, and the only object of traditional interest to me was the giant live-oak, with its hoary cobwebs of grey moss, that still stood sentinel over the spot where LaFitte and his pirates sunk the great chest of golden coin, or treasure, so long ago.⁶

After Mrs. Sorsby had concluded, a discussion followed, of which the addresses of Messrs. Lanier, Richardson and Owen formed a part. Short talks were also made by Messrs. Wyman, Thach and Anderson, but the editor has been unable to secure copies.

MR. CLIFFORD A. LANIER SAID :

I have found Mrs. Sorsby's paper very interesting and suggestive. Mathew Arnold, gifted, cultured, his mind stored full of the vast history of the old world, while visiting America several years ago, lamented our seeming lack of relics, of antiquities, of castles redolent of historic associations, of towers of old romance; this eloquent paper shows that one little corner of Alabama, observed by sharp, sympathetic searching eyes, is teeming with objects, articles and curios connected with interesting history. The experiences, the incidents, the emotions, the things done and imagined of young countries are quite as full of interest as those of old; they are simply not so many.

But many things have been done, felt and suffered in Alabama during the three hundred and fifty years since De Soto and his richly equipped company of cavaliers marched along the Coosa

⁶ See Editorial Notes appended to Justus Wyman's "Sketch," *infra*, for a sketch of the "Town of Blakeley."

and Alabama from Rome to Mauvilla. As a wave is broken on the beach of a continent, this gallant band of nearly a thousand was broken by impact upon the Aborigines brought to bay, fighting for home, and also upon the hardships of this wilderness of the *Alibamons* and other tribes, inhabiting what was deemed to be an island-continent "*de las palmas.*" This wave was broken, but it has left some flotsam and treasure trove. Many relics are in Alabama and in other States of these invaders, of other invaders, and of the hungry generations that have trod them down.

The Norsemen came from Northern Europe to Northern America, leaving a few traces! Southwestern Europe came to Southeast "Columbia," and Florida, stretching, as then called, from Hatteras to the Mississippi, was their gateway, after stepping over the threshold of the West Indies. The nations of Western Europe had long struggled over this land of ours. Nay, it is even thought that a son of Noah sailed once over the blue Mexico Gulf, and that a relative of St. Patrick of Ireland brought Christianity to Texas, when Texas held Mexico and Montezuma as her vassals!! but—let that pass. No one of us is old enough to vouch for that.

I desire to suggest a little combination of very laudable trusts. How would it do to have a State Library, the Historical Society, and the Confederate White House Collection of Jefferson Davis relics all in one central place—Tuscaloosa, or under the shadow of the beautiful soldiers' monument erected by the patriotic women at the side of the capital in Montgomery on the very hill, doubtless, whereon gigantic *Tasteluza*, moving under a canopy of deer skin, royally received De Soto? Mrs. Benjamin Fitzpatrick has mentioned this to me and her womanly modesty alone prevents her presenting this idea in terms of force and eloquence that are native to her.

The Daughters of the Confederacy of Alabama have recently received from Mrs. Jefferson Davis and Mrs. Hayes a considerable number of articles associated with the home life of the ex-Confederate Chieftain and martyr at Beauvoir. By the energy of Mrs. Carrie Phelan Beale, chairman, and other ladies of the "White House" committee of the two local Chapters at Montgomery, and by the courtesy of Gov. Joseph F. Johnston and Mr. Secretary Chappell Cory, these prized and valued relics have been temporarily housed in an unused room in the State Capitol.

The idea of these ladies is that these glorious memorials must be, or ought to be, permanently arranged in a room of the Jefferson Davis Mansion, used as the first "White House" of the Confederacy, and that this historic building should be removed from its present location to a suitable site on Capitol Hill, near the star marking the spot whereon Mr. Davis stood to speak the inauguration of the storm-cradled people in February, 1861.

The wish is a beautiful conception. If carried out it would be an education to future generations. Such a place might become an epitome of the whole history of this State. Portraits and mementos of our heroes, of our great and good men and women might be gathered here. Travelling libraries might be sent out after the library laws of the State have been enacted and codified. Here might be a museum of Indian, Spanish, French and Confederate relics; and pride of State and love of country would be increased, while history is studied.

These Jefferson Davis memorials make the blood course fast in the veins of veterans of '61-'65. Indeed they bring tears to eyes which glistened with youth when Davis and Lincoln, Lee and Grant, Sherman and Stonewall Jackson, Forrest and Sheridan, Dahlgren and Pelham, illustrated the statesmanship and generalship and sublime valor of Americans, when the host of captains and heroes went out, like Arthur's Paladins, to those great raids and skirmishes and battles in the West and South.

Let us collect and preserve and cherish the things which tell the story of our Alabama, which embalm in the amber of history the poetry, the romance, the courage, the heroism of ancestors who wrote and sung and toiled and fought and suffered and strove to make Duty's imperishable record on the soil of their native State.

DR. W. C. RICHARDSON SAID:

It was early in the fifties, say 1853, that I made the personal acquaintance of that grand old man, Michael Tuomey.⁷ With

⁷ First State Geologist of Alabama, who prepared prior to 1860 his two *Reports*. For sketches see Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 567; and the Univ. of Alabama. *Corolla*, 1894, pp. 21-24, with portrait, condensed from an article by his son-in-law, Rev. R. D. Nevius, in *Ala. Ed. Jour.*, Jan., 1859, pp. 111-119.

his camp outfit, he was on his way to Bell's landing, and stopped a few hours in Camden, Wilcox Co. He was interested in the greensands of Wilcox, which I gave him for comparison with those of the New Jersey beds, which I think he and Mr. Ruffin had studied together. I also gladdened his eyes with a fine cerithium, unearthed by me at Claiborne, which he told me had not been previously found in the tertiary beds of this continent by Lea or others. I accompanied him to Bell's landing along with his able assistant, Quin Thornton, and the day we spent there was one to be remembered. At 9 o'clock a. m. we "outspanned" on the bluff, and equipped with a light but capacious basket, each of the trio disappeared down the long flight of steps that led to our "happy hunting grounds." The instructions to the cook at parting were to prepare "a large" dinner; and at the sound of the horn each savant, wherever he might be, on land or water, was to "drop everything" and repair to dinner. This was playfully said by Prof. Tuomey, and, as the sequel will show, was too literally fulfilled. When I heard the horn, about 2 o'clock, I trudged wearily along the beach and dragged my jaded feet up the endless steps to where our caravansera was located. Quin Thornton was there before me, looking hungry enough to eat the contents of his basket, but no Tuomey. The fat cook blew and blew and blew. Thornton and myself were out of breath and could not blow. At 3 o'clock, despairing of ever again seeing our chief, we sat down and devoured the meal, directing the cook to prepare another. We worried and speculated and smoked and snoozed and waited. After a dreary afternoon, just as the sun was about to sink below the horizon, we heard a heavy breathing and the tramp of sturdy feet on the great stairway, and going forward, we encountered Prof. Tuomey shouldering up the steep a huge basket filled with petrifications. We gave him a long breathing spell ere, like the Ancient Mariner, we allowed him to tell his story. It seems that he had been very successful, had filled his basket, and at the first sound of the horn had tried to meet his appointment. But alas! in ascending the stairway his foot slipped when near the summit, and his precious load was abruptly precipitated into a vicious and muddy pool at the bottom. Then he did a characteristic act. He conscientiously and sternly required Prof. Tuomey to go back over the fields he had traversed and refill

his basket "to punish himself," as he said, "for his carelessness." We pitied him for his mishap, but twitted him for "dropping everything" at the sound of the horn.

I forgot to mention that, in the morning when we first reached the shore, Prof. Tuomey gave us an object lesson, manifestly intended for my benefit as Thornton was proficient, in observing and collecting, which has always stood by me. He requested us independently to examine a huge outlying rock in our vicinity and make a map of its superficial contents, omitting nothing that recorded or reflected its past history. With alacrity we entered upon the work. Every stria or contortion of layer was carefully copied. Every trail of zoophite or marking of coral, sponge or crustacean was severely figured. Every trace of mineralized algae, spine or bone, perforation or contusion, ridge or channel was described or noted. When we had laboriously and painfully gone over the work, we held our papers aloof, and required the master to prepare a similar map. Here was an ordeal we felt where knowledge could not tell. All of us had eyes, and eyes seemed to be the only necessary organs. Fatal mistake! Our chief not merely gave all the puzzling cryptograms on that surface a local habitation and a name, but he saw and identified scores of characters that had escaped our attention altogether. So true is it that often "having eyes we see not."

I had in my school an assistant, a Mr. Hollowell, of Huntsville, who had received a degree at the University of Virginia. He was exceedingly prepossessed with Prof. Tuomey, and afterwards became one of his assistants in the field. It is related that with a view to try his fibre, Prof. Tuomey required of him to descend an open shaft at Baird's and report what he saw there. He took a sheet of foolscap and jotting down a multitude of particulars formally made his report. He spoke of a large rock that was encountered near the bottom of the shaft. Prof. Tuomey asked him how he knew it was there. Hollowell replied that the man with the pick told him so. Tearing up the report, Tuomey bade him go back and, descending the mine, make an examination for himself, and never again to report at second hand what it was at all possible to explore for himself. Such was Tuomey—inveterate hater of pretension and shams.

To show that observation, so essential in making natural col-

lections, is wholly inoperative unless sharpened by exercise and practice, I must relate, even at the expense of being prolix, an occurrence in my own experience. Teaching in Mississippi, I received a letter from Prof. Tuomey requesting me to visit, if possible, the Vicksburg beds, or if that was not possible, to send him some fossils from the cretaceous beds of Noxubee County for comparison with Alabama fossils. I immediately set about doing so, and soon had the satisfaction of amassing a respectable collection, among them a pyrula, which Prof. Tuomey pronounced new, and did me the honor to name for me *Pyrula Richardsonii*.

I arranged the fossils in boxes around the room till it began to look quite like a cabinet. I well remember the astonishment of my landlord when he first saw them. He was a college graduate, but

“A primrose on the river’s brim,
A yellow primrose is to him
And it is nothing more.”

“Where did you get these from,” he exclaimed. “New York?” “No; I got them from the fields you have ploughed from childhood.” He hooted his incredulity, and taking up a baculite, struck it across a fine belemnite and snapped it in two. I felt like striking him, and did hustle him from the room as soon as possible.

I took my pupils, of whom I had eighty, into my confidence. They came to school every morning across the fields, covering an area of about four miles, and had been crunching under their feet for years specimens that I was so eager to obtain. I explained on the blackboard what I wanted and begged them to be on the watch and bring to me whatever they encountered that was strange or pretty in their walks. Their finds were at first very meager, but they improved. By and by they brought in more and more. I observed, however, that different individuals brought in different fossils; some nautili, some pectens, some hippurites. I accounted for this by supposing that they lived by certain habitats of extinct forms, but to my surprise, I soon learned that this was a mistake. Children only see what particularly strikes their fancy, so that I came to call one my pecten girl or young mermaid, because she brought that form alone. I could generally anticipate before I opened a wallet what casts

I would find. They did pretty well as far as numbers went, but alas! They brought no teeth of sharks or saurians. I expostulated; I explained, I drew figure on figure—the sharks and saurians would not come. Their eyesight had to be sharpened. I proposed to the boys to meet me on the first Saturday morning after a shower, and we would make an exhaustive hunt for them. The shower was requisite, for the casts are coated with lime and unless wet are scarcely distinguishable from the soil. If the coating is thus rendered translucent it discloses the coveted tooth beneath. The morning arrived and twenty-five boys reported for service. I drew them up in line on one side of a ploughed field, and standing well in front I bade them do exactly as they saw me do. Dropping to my knees and fixing my eyes upon the ground, I began a painful peregrination on my knees across the field. Every boy was to raise a whoop when a tooth of shark or saurian appeared. For some time there was a dead silence—then a faint cry from a boy who said he had found “a petrified bird tongue.” An occasional yell broke upon my ear, and I found afterwards that every yell marked the finding of the sought-for treasure. After that lesson shark’s teeth and “petrified bird tongues” were plentiful.

I still, however, had belemnite boys and pecten girls, and there was one lad, John Stanton by name, who always filled his wallet with snails and frogs, dead cicadas and beetles and butterflies. A born entomologist, he could see no fossils. He handled snakes and other biolytic animals with impunity. I looked at him in admiration for his talent, while I deplored his limitation, and quietly put aside his slimy specimens as if they were the fossils demanded.

MR. THOMAS M. OWEN SAID :

The subject under discussion, as might well be supposed, is one that has greatly interested me. As a native and a citizen of a great State, I am concerned for the preservation of the memorials of its historic past. As a member of the Historical Society, I am interested in the full development of its many sided activities.

Apart from its publications, and the library of books it brings together, one of the uses of a State, or local, Historical Society is the accumulation of all objects of an antiquarian interest and

value. A well-equipped collection always possesses a museum of relics and antiquities, which are not the least in importance of its ingatherings.

Our Constitution states the purpose of the organization quite comprehensively, showing from the very beginning an intention to embrace in its operations this field of usefulness:

"The object of the Society is to discover, procure, preserve and diffuse whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary and ecclesiastical history of the State of Alabama, and of the States in connection with her."

The report of the Executive Committee, to the Society in 1851, prepared by Dr. Joshua H. Foster, the first Secretary, who is with us to-day, and to whom so much is due for long continued interest in our work, declares this purpose in unmistakable language:

"The plan of our operations is one of vast magnitude, and the materials to be collected of almost endless variety. No one department of human research confines our system. It covers every subject of the natural history of the State in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms. It spreads its wide embrace to receive the record of every important event, either past, or now transpiring, in our civil, religious, social and individual history."

It will, therefore, be apparent that the Society has been negligent in the past, and will in the future be recreant to its high trust unless it makes an effort to collect and preserve relics, curiosities and other antiquarian objects. The limit of collection should, however, be placed far beyond the purely antique and curious. As indicating my conclusions as to the scope of the work of collection, I submit for future use and guidance the following tentative grouping, along which it should be projected and carried on, irrespective of library and manuscript collection. There should be collected and secured for permanent preservation the following:

- 1st. Likenesses of persons prominent in Alabama history, leading men and women of the State, and illustrations of localities or houses of historical importance. Where possible, original paintings or drawings of these subjects should be secured. A double purpose would thus be served—the likeness of the individual would be preserved, while the painting or drawing, whether life size, profile, or miniature, would be an illustration of the progress of art, photography, or engraving.

- 2nd. Relics of pioneers and pioneer life, such as articles of

dress, implements of labor, implements of the chase, and household furnishings.

3rd. Relics and personal belongings of eminent Alabamians, such as library desks or tables, chairs, knives, dirks, duelling pistols or other fire arms, stock, knee or shoe buckles, drinking cups, watches, chains, snuff boxes and canes.

4th. War relics, such as uniforms, swords, arms and equipment. This should include all wars of the United States, for there are known to be a number of revolutionary relics in the State.

5th. Indian relics, such as pottery, weapons of all kinds, personal ornaments.

6th. Modern work, when specially notable from being unique in design, or the first of a class of article manufactured or introduced.

As a single illustration of what is being done by other organizations, I call attention to the collection of Governor's chairs being made by the New England Historic Genealogical Society. The State Societies of Virginia and Maryland are exceedingly active, and their halls and rooms are filled with numbers of objects which appeal not only to the eye as curiosities, but which serve to arouse a nobler and more animated patriotism.

It is a deplorable fact that our Society has done nothing, and that so little generally in the State has been accomplished in this direction. The suggestion with reference to a place of deposit for the cherished Jefferson Davis relics is a wise one. It will and must be carried out through the patriotic efforts and zeal of our noble women. The mention of Confederate relics brings up a sad and alarming reflection, and that is, unless we provide for their preservation, they will drift away from the State into other collections and be irretrievably lost. We cannot afford to delay longer. I need only mention the Museums at Richmond and New Orleans, and the zealous efforts they are putting forth to accumulate memorials of the "Lost Cause," to forcibly illustrate my statement.

Friends of the Historical Society, although deeply anxious on the subject, are, however, met by the dispiriting reflection that it has no "local habitation." In this condition it cannot invite such gifts, or if it did, no one would entrust any to it. It becomes evident, therefore, that the Society must have a per-

manent building, or headquarters, not only for the deposit and care of articles collected or donated, but for all the purposes of the organization. At present no plans are presented for the accomplishment of this much to be desired consummation, and it must remain for an enthusiastic membership to create an enlightened public opinion, so general and strong, that an early session of the General Assembly will respond in a suitable way to our patriotic demands.

V. CHOCTAW INDIAN NAMES IN ALABAMA AND MISSISSIPPI.¹

By HENRY SALE HALBERT,² of Crawford, Miss.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

In pronouncing the Choctaw names in this paper, the Continental sound must be given to the vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*.

O invariably has the sound of *o* in *note*, never as *o* in *not*.

Ai must be pronounced as *i* in *pine*; and *au* as *ou* in *house*.

Oe and *oi* are not diphthongs, each vowel is pronounced separately.

The Choctaw nasal vowels are represented by italicized vowels; as "paki," *grape*; "asha," *is there*; "lussa," *swamp*. These italicized vowels must always be given a strong nasal sound.

Following the example of Byington's *Choctaw Grammar*, "v" is used for the twenty-second letter of the Choctaw alphabet, which letter has the sound of *a* in *vial*; to many ears, however, almost the same as *u* in *tub*.

The English consonant *v* does not exist in Creek or Choctaw. The latter always convert this letter into *w* in the body of a word, and *f* at the beginning of a word. To illustrate: the word *Lineville* would be written and pronounced *Linewill*; and the word *tan vat* would be written and pronounced *tan fat*. Byington thus uses it in his *Choctaw Grammar*.

Attention is directed to the locative preposition *a* or *ai*, prefixed to words to indicate locality,—*a* before a consonant, and *ai* before a vowel. Frequently in rapidity of pronunciation this locative preposition is slurred over, sometimes even omitted when the meaning of the speaker is very clear to the listener.

B and *M* are often used interchangeably, as, "Bvlbancha," or "Mvlbancha," the old Choctaw name for New Orleans.

¹Some parts of this paper appeared in a letter by the author, to P. J. Hamilton, Esq., which was published in the *Mobile Register*, Nov. 19, 1898.

²For sketch of Mr. Halbert, see *Trans. Ala. His. Society*, 1897-98, vol. ii, p. 95.

O and U can be used interchangeably, as "lusa," or "losa," black; "nusi," or "nosi," acorn; and "amu," or "amo," to gather.

The word "usi," or "osi" is a diminutive suffix. "Hina," a road; "hinosi," a path; "naksish," the branch of a tree; "naksishosi," a twig; "vlla," a child; "vlosi," an infant, are examples.

In ordinary Choctaw conversation there is much elision of vowels and consonants.

ALABAMA WORDS.

ABEHA—a plural word, signifying *to be in, in it, therein*, is the passive of "abehli." It occurs in some compound Choctaw names in Mississippi and Alabama, as follows: *Oktibbeha*, the name of two creeks in Mississippi, "Okti," ice, "abeha," therein—"Oktiabeha," by elision "Oktibeha." The current interpretation, *Fighting Waters*, is altogether erroneous. "Ponkabea," a creek in Sumter County, Ala., meaning *Grapes therein*, is "Paki," grapes, "abeha," therein. A noted spring near Starkville, Miss., spelled in various corrupt ways, but restored to its correct Choctaw orthography, is "Hika hishi abeha," *sweet gum leaves therein*. Oltibia, the "small fort" mentioned in Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*, p. III, is undoubtedly a French corruption of "Ulhti abeha," *Firewood therein*.

ALABAMA—the name of a river and the State. This word, spelled in various ways, "Alibamo," "Alibamon," "Alabama," etc., has given rise to much etymological speculation. According to the views of the writer, the name is Choctaw, composed of two words, "alba," *vegetation*, and "amo," *to gather*. The passive voice of "amo" is "almo." Two examples of names in which "almo" occurs are here given: The first in Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*, p. 225, is "Caantacalamoo," in correct Choctaw, "Kantak ai almo," rapidly pronounced "Kantak almo," which means *China brier there gathered*. The root of the China brier, in Choctaw, "Kantak," was a common article of food among the Southern Indians. The second case is a creek, Trim Cane, in Oktibbeha County, Miss., called by the Choctaws "Oski ai almo bok," or, the locative omitted in rapidity of pronunciation, "Oski almo bok," "Oskalmo bok," which literally translated is *Cane-there-gathered creek*. If the tribe living on this creek had received a special name from their custom of gathering cane, they would have been called "Oski amo," or "Oskamo,"

Cane-gatherers. Likewise, if the people living on the first named creek had received a special name from their gathering the root of the China brier, they would have been called "Kantak amo," *China brier-gatherers.* In addition to this it may be said that the Choctaw term for *cotton pickers* is "ponola amo." The general name in Choctaw for smaller vegetation, as grass, herbs, shrubs and bushes, is "alba." In clearing a field, the Aborigines deadened the trees by making fires around their trunks. But smaller vegetation was gathered and removed, which was really the hardest part of the work. "Alba," *vegetation*, and "amo," *to gather*, united together, make the compound "Alba amo," "Albamo," which means *the ones who gather vegetation*, or *vegetation-gatherers*, i. e., clearers of land for agricultural purposes. According to the views of the writer this is the solution of the word Alabama. Some years ago, he heard an old Tali Chuluk Indian pronounce it "Alibamo," the archaic and no doubt correct form. A similar case, of a people receiving a tribal name from their occupation, is that of the Tangipahoa, as mentioned in Gatchet's *Migration Legend*, p. 34, "Tanchapi aiowa," *Cornstalk gatherers*, "Tanchapi," *cornstalk*, "aiowa," *to gather*. The distinction between "amo" and "aiowa" is that the first is the general word for gathering, whilst the latter is specific, meaning to pick up from the ground. "Aiowa," besides, is plural, that is, having the plurality as regards its object, whilst "amo" is singular or plural according to context or circumstance.³

BOGUE CHITTO—a creek in Dallas County. In its English spelling and pronunciation the word "Bogue" represents exactly the sound of the Choctaw word "bok," *creek*, the *k* of which the Choctaws pronounce like a hard *g*. The word is of common occurrence in Alabama and Mississippi. "Bok chitto," or "chito," *Big creek*; "Bok falaia," *Long creek*; "Bok homma," *Red creek*; "Bok lusa," *Black creek*. Bogue Chitto Creek rises just south of Cahawba Old Towns in Perry County, and flows south through these counties into the Alabama River at Old Lexington. This creek is specially noted, as from its name it can be safely stated that it marks *the extreme eastern verge of the habitat of the Choctaw people.*

³Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama*, p. 1110, gives Mr. Pickett's view. See his *History of Alabama*, vol. i, p. 49, *note*. See also Meek's *Romantic Passages in Southwestern History*, p. 233, *note*; Berney's *Hand Book of Alabama* (1892), p. 59, *note*.

BUTTAHATCHIE—a river in West Alabama,—Lamar and Marion Counties. “Bvti Hvchcha,” *White Sumac river*.

CABUSTO—the name of an aboriginal town passed by De Soto in his Florida expedition.⁴ The writer is strongly of the opinion that this was a Chickasaw town. In the Chickasaw dialect, “ishto,” *great*, corresponds to the Choctaw, “chito.” “Oka ishto,” *great water*, in imperfect Spanish articulation could be Okabushto, or Kabushto, *b* having the force of *v* or *w*. A somewhat similar corruption can be seen in the case of a creek, “Oka talaia,” *Spreading water*, in Jasper County, Miss., corrupted by the whites into “Kwatalaia.” In the *Knight of Elvas* it is stated that “near unto Cabusto runs a great river.”

Apart from the orthography of the word the query arises, were there Chickasaw settlements in the Black Warrior and lower Tombigbee regions in prehistoric times? There is a creek in Marengo County, Ala., *Chickasaw bogue*, “Chickasha bok,” *Chickasaw creek*, which seems to favor this idea. This creek could never have received this name except in consequence of some Chickasaw settlement in its vicinity. *

CHICKIANOSE—the aboriginal name of Cahaba River, mentioned in Hamilton’s *Colonial Mobile*, p. 185. This is “Sheki anusi,” or “anosi,” meaning *Buzzards there sleep*, that is, *Buzzard roost*.

COATOPA—a creek in Sumter County. This is a word in which there is much elision of vowels and consonants. “Koi ahotopa bok,” by elision, “Koi atopa bok,” *Creek where the panther is hurt*, exactly literal, *Panther-there-hurt creek*. The locative preposition is prefixed to “hotopa.” A common example of elision in Choctaw conversation can be illustrated by this verb, “hotopa.” A Choctaw in saying “I am hurt,” would not say “sa hotopa,” but “sa ’topa.”

ESCATAWPA—a creek in Mobile County. “Oski atapa bok,” *Creek where cane is cut*, literally, *Cane-there-cut-off creek*. The locative preposition is prefixed to “tapa,” *cut-off*. The probable origin of this name arises from the very fine cane that grew on its bottoms, which the natives were accustomed to cut off for the purpose of making blow-guns.

⁴Brewer’s *Alabama*, p. 12; Meek’s *Romantic Passages*, p. 231; Snedcor’s *Directory of Greene County* (1856), p. 73; and Pickett’s *Alabama*, vol. i, pp. 39-40.

FUNACHA—a creek in Pickens and Sumter Counties. "Fvni asha," *Squirrels are there.*

HOBUCKINTOPA—the Choctaw name for the bluff upon which Old St. Stephens was situated. An old tradition runs as follows: An Indian, whether Creek or Choctaw is not known, in some violent manner was deprived of his virility. He was so overwhelmed with the thoughts of his degraded condition, that in a fit of desperation he committed suicide by running and leaping off this bluff. Hence the bluff was called by the Choctaws "Hobak in topa," *The emasculated one's bed stead.*

HVCHCHA—the word meaning *river*, is the general name applied by the Choctaws to the Tombigbee. It is the river *par excellence*. Noxubee, the largest tributary of the Tombigbee, is often called by the Choctaws "Hvchcha osi," or "Hvchchosi," *Little river*, to distinguish it from the Tombigbee, *the river*. The word "osi" or "usi" as has been stated, is suffixed to words to form a diminutive. In Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*, p. 225, "osi" is correctly translated in "Ape-bogue-ooosi," "Hvpi bok osi," *Little Salt creek.*

KINTERBISH—a creek in Sumter and Choctaw Counties. "Kinta ibish," meaning, *beaver dam.*

LUBBUB—a creek in Pickens County. This is spelled *Lubbah* in Smith's *History of Pickens County* (1856), p. 180, and is the Choctaw "lahbah," perhaps so called because its water was warmer, or supposed to be warmer than the waters of the neighboring creeks.

LUKSAPALILA—a creek in West Alabama. *Floating Turtle* is not the exact translation of the name of this creek. It is "Luksi abalvli bok," *Creek where the turtle crawls*, more literally, *turtle-there-crawls creek*. It will be noticed that the locative preposition is prefixed to the verb "balvli."

MOBILE—"Maubila," as written by Garcilaso de la Vega, "Mauilla," by the Knight of Elvas, "Mavila," by Biedma, and "Mabile," by Ranjel. For years the writer has been of the opinion that this word is the Choctaw, "Moelih,"—in which *oe* is not a diphthong. In Choctaw, "mofih," among other meanings, is used to signify the *paddling* or *rowing* of a canoe. The plural of "mofih" is "moelih," of which we may assume an archaic form "mo-we-lih" or "mo-be-lih," as in some cases in Choctaw, *b* and *w* can be used interchangeably. It is probable that this name

meaning *rowers, paddlers*, was given to the people of this river town from their constant use of boats in travelling on the river. "Hattak vt mofih," *the man rows*, "hattak vt moelih," *the men row*, "okla moelih," *the people row*. The modern Mobile is called by many of the old-fashioned Choctaws in Mississippi "Mo-il-la," a form bearing close resemblance both to "Moelih" and the several forms used by the Spanish writers.⁵

NANNA FALIA—a postoffice in Marengo County. "Nvnih falaia," *Long hill*. It may here be stated that the Choctaw words for hill and fish "nvnih," *hill*, "nvni," *fish*, are so very similar that it is sometimes difficult in translation to decide which one of the two words is meant. "Nvnih falaia," *long hill*, "nvni falaia," *long fish*.

OCHI CHITON—the Mobile River, as is shown by modern research. This word is no doubt "Aiochi chito." "Aiochi" is used by the Choctaws to designate any place *where water is drawn*, whether a spring, well, pool, pond, lake, river, creek, or branch. Thus used, we may translate "Aiochi chito," *Big water-getting place*. The Mobile Indians of Choctaw lineage, living upon this stream, no doubt, bestowed upon it this name. Mr. Shea, in a foot note to his *Ancient Florida*, says it means *Great river*, from "okhina," *river*, and "chito," *great*. While Mr. Shea is correct as to "chito," his position as to "okhina" is untenable. "Okhina" could never be contracted, or worn down into "ochi." An intelligent Choctaw, to whom the writer once referred this matter, agreed with him that "Aiochi chito" was no doubt the proper word, worn down by rapidity of pronunciation into "ochi chito."

OKATUPPA—a creek in Choctaw County. "Oka katapa," *water dammed up*.

OUTACTACHITO—the name of a Choctaw chief mentioned in Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. i, p. 228. This is evidently "Okatak-tak chito," meaning *Big Shypoke*. All or nearly all the Choctaw names of birds are onomatopes. "Okataktak" is an onomatope, the noise made by his wings in flying up from the water sounding, to Choctaw ears, like *okataktak*.

OYPAT OOCOOLA—the name of one of the Choctaw districts mentioned in Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. i, p. 137, and in Gat-

⁵ Meek's *Romantic Passages*, p. 227; Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*, p. 8; and Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. i, p. 191.

schet's *Migration Legend*, vol. i, p. 100. Both writers, quoting from Bernard Romans' *Florida*, refer to one of the Choctaw districts, "Oypat oocoola," these writers accepting the translation *Small nation*. The word is, however, simply a corrupt spelling of "Ahepyt Okla," *Potato-eating people*.³

PAFALLAYA—an Indian province traversed by De Soto on his Florida expedition.⁴ Adair, in his *History of the American Indians*, says that the Choctaws were sometimes called "Pafallaya," *long haired*. This statement of Adair leads to the belief that "Pafalaya" may be worn down from "Pashi falaia." A similar case is seen in "tabota," which word is certainly worn down from "tanchi bota," *pounded corn*.

SIPSEY—a river in West Alabama. "Sipsi," *poplar*. There is likewise a Sipsy creek in Newton County, Miss.

SOOKHANATCHA—a tributary of the Tombigbee. It is spelled in various ways. "Shukha i hvchcha," *Hog river*, or *Hog its river*, "i" being the genitive case of the objective possessive pronoun.

TALIEPATAUA—a town mentioned in De Soto's Florida expedition. In Choctaw, "Tvli i patafa," literally translated, *Rock its cleft*, or, *Rock its opening*, can be applied to any deep rocky gorge, or branch, the sides and bottom of which are composed of rock or stones. If on the route of De Soto from Maubila to Cabusto there can be found an ancient village site lying in close proximity to such a rocky gorge or ravine it may be considered good presumptive evidence that this is the site of Taliepataua, the Indian village mentioned by the Knight of Elvas.⁵

TALLAHATTA—a creek in Clarke County. "Tvli hvta," *White rock*. There is a creek of the same name in Newton County, Miss.

TEEAKHAILY EKUTAPA—"a gray flat rock" rising from the Tombigbee river, mentioned in Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. i, p. 153. "Teeakhaily Ekutapa," in correct orthography, is "Tiakhieli i katapa," literally translated *Standing pines their obstruction*.

³ *Trans. Ala. Hist. Society*, 1897-98, vol. ii, p. 109.

⁴ Buckingham Smith's translation of the *Narratives of De Soto* (1866), p. 91 (Bradford Club Series, No. 5.) See Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. i, pp. 39, 74, 135.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 91. Also Pickett, vol. i, p. 39.

"Hieli" is plural, making its subject "tiak" plural. See also Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*, p. 223.

TOLLER BOGUE—a creek in Washington County. "Tala bok," *Palmetto creek*. There is a creek of the same name in Mississippi, corrupted by the whites into *Tarlow*. 'Tala Town, lying between this creek and "Bok felammi," *creek prong*, was one of the sub-divisions of the Six Towns District.

TOMBIGBEE—a river in Alabama and Mississippi. "Itombikbi," "Itombi," *box*, "ikbi," *to make*. "Itombi" is a general name for any kind of box, chest or coffin.⁹

TOOMSUBA—a creek in Choctaw County. "Tusubi," *blue pigeon hawk*, or, as it is commonly called, *the blue darter*.

TUSCALOOSA—the name of a County and City in Alabama. "Tvshka lusa," *Black Warrior*.¹⁰

MISSISSIPPI WORDS.

ABATOMBOGUE—a creek in Grenada County. It is sometimes spelled "Bitupon bogue," and in Government records "Batup in bogue" and "Baytuppena bogue." Discarding these corruptions, the name of the creek is "Ibetvp bok," or, as was often the case, after inserting the pronoun, "Ibetvp i bok," *Fountain head creek*, or with the pronoun inserted, *Fountain head its creek*. "Ibetvp" occurs in Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. i, p. 151, in the word "Ebeetap oocoola," which is "Ibetvp okla," *Fountain head people*, that is, people who live at the fountain head, or source of some water-course.

ARCHUSA—a river in Smith County. "Hvchcha osi," *Little river*, a name that is often applied also to Noxubee river.

BEASHA—a creek in Neshoba County. "Bihi asha," *Mulberries are there*.

BIG BLACK—a creek in West Mississippi. The English name is given to call attention to a mistranslation. The Choctaw name of Big Black is "Lussa chito," which means *Big Swamp*. The old pioneers were doubtless more familiar with the Choctaw word "lusa," *black*, than with "lussa," *swamp*. Hence, they misconceived the aboriginal term, taking it for "lusa chito,"

⁹ Snedikor's *Directory of Greene County* (1856), p. 70; and Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. i, p. 152.

¹⁰ Maxwell's *Tuskaloosa* (1876); Smith and DeLand's *Northern Alabama* (1888), p. 506; Meek's *Romantic Passages*, p. 225, *note*; Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. i, p. 135; and Woodward's *Reminiscences* (1859), p. 78.

and in consequence made a mistranslation, which, no doubt, will remain forever as it now stands. The Mississippi Choctaws of the present day, in speaking of Big Black, still call it "Lussa chito bok," *Big Swamp creek*.

BOLUPUSHA—a creek in Newton County. "Balup asha," *slippery elms are there*.

BUCKATUNNA—a creek in Clarke and Wayne Counties. "Tvnnih" signifies *to weave*; passive voice, tvnna," *woven*. This word is more extended in its use than our English word *weave*. The Choctaws used it not only for the weaving of cloth, but also for the weaving, so to speak, of the cane splits in making baskets. "Bok atvnnna"—locative "a" prefixed to "tvnna," means *creek at which is the weaving* (of baskets). Doubtless it was so named on account of its being a place for the manufacture of Indian baskets.

BYHALIA—a creek in De Soto County, and a town in Marshall County. The word is corrupted from "Baiyi hieli," *standing white oaks*.

CATARPA—a creek in Oktibbeha County. "Katapa," *dammed up, or obstructed*; so named because its waters were once dammed up by the driftwood at the mouth of the stream.

CHEWALLA—a creek in Marshall County. "Chuahla," *cedar*. This is not the same as the creek in Alabama of the same name.

CHULA HOMA—a town in Marshall County. "Chula," *fox, "homma," red, Red Fox*. The last part of the English word is more correctly written "homma."

COFFEDELIA—a creek in Neshoba County. Its correct orthography is "Kvfi talaia," which may be translated *Sassafras thicket*. In Carroll County there is a creek called Teoctalia, "Tiak talaia," *Pine thicket*. The writer does not agree with Mr. Gatschet in his Yuchi theory about "Kvfi talaia." See his *Migration Legend*," vol. i, p. 19. The Choctaw town, called Kvfi talaia, was in Neshoba County, on the south side of the Philadelphia and Somerville road, and about midway between the tenth and the eleventh mile posts. There is a tradition that this town was once captured by a Creek war party. The Coffedelia post office is several miles south from the old Indian town.

COILA—a creek in Carroll County. "Koi ai vla," *Panther comes there*; that is, the place where panthers are accustomed to come. In the Government records of about 1830 it is spelled

"Quiilla," and from the same source it appears that an Indian town located upon it was called "Quiilla Village."

CONEHATTA—a creek and town in Newton County. "Konih hvta," *White pole cat*, "Konih," *pole cat*, "hvta," *white*.

CUSHTUSHA—a creek in Neshoba County. "Kvshtih asha," "Kvshtasha," *Fleas are there*. The old Choctaw town of Cushtusha was situated on the south side of Cushtusha creek, about three miles southwest of Yazoo Town. Many years ago it was embraced in the farm of Mr. Mark Warren. For the legend of this town see Claiborne's *Mississippi*, p. 518.

ESTABUTCHIE—a town in Jones County. It is derived from the badly corrupted Choctaw name of Leaf river. "Hvsh-tyv hvchcha," corrupted even by the Choctaws into "Hvshtv-pocha," was the aboriginal name of Leaf river, which is almost a correct translation of the native term. "Hvshtv" has no exact English equivalent. It signifies *fallen leaves, dry leaves after falling*. "Hvchcha," *river*.

ETTAHOMA—a creek in South Central Mississippi. "Iti homi," *Sour wood*. This tree has the same name, "sour wood," both in English and Choctaw.

HICKAHALY—a creek in Tate County. "Hika hieli," *Standing sweet gum trees*.

HOULKA, or HULKY—a creek in Chickasaw County. "Hulhki," *the leg*.

KITTA HATTA—a creek in Calhoun County. "Kitti hvta," *White mortar*, "Kitti," *mortar*, for pounding corn, "hvta," *white*.

LAPATUBBEE—a creek in Pontotoc County. It was probably named after a man, *Deer-killer*, or more correctly, *Buck-killer*. "Lapittah," *a buck*, "vbi," *to kill*.

LOBUTCHA—a creek in Winston County. It is said to be the same as "Yalobusha," *Tad poles are there*. "Yaloba," *tadpole*, "asha," *is there, are there*.

LOCAFOMA—a creek in Noxubee County. It is corrupted from "Lukfi homma," *red clay*, receiving this name from the red color of its waters flowing into Noxubee from the red clay hills of Winston County.

LOOKSA HOMA—a town in Tate County. "Luksi homma," *Red Turtle*.

LOOSA SCOONA—a creek in Calhoun County. If Loosa is not "lussa," *swamp*, it must be "halus," *the leech*. "Halus isk-

una," signifies *Leech entrails*. There is a creek called "Scoona," i. e., "Iskuna," in Pontotoc County.

NOXAPATER—a creek in Winston County. "Naki chip-inta," *Little bullets*, is the uncorrupted form.

NUSICHIYA—Line creek,¹¹ which, with Oktibbeha creek, was the boundary line between the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. Claiborne, *History of Mississippi*, p. 485, writes: "Line creek was afterwards known by the Choctaws as Nusichea, 'you asleep,' because not long afterwards the Choctaws attacked them [the Chickasaws] when unprepared or 'asleep.'" Without commenting on this questionable fragment of history, it is sufficient to say that "Nusichea" cannot be made in Choctaw to mean *you asleep*. For that expression we must say "chi nusi." "Nusi chiya," or "achiya" with the locative prefix, literally means *Acorns sitting there*. To describe a round object, or round objects, resting on the ground, the Choctaws use "binili" for the singular and "chiya" for the plural, both words meaning *to sit*. A tributary of Petickfa is called by the Choctaws "Oksak foni chiya," *Hickory nuts sitting there*. On an old map of the Mississippi Territory, Line creek is called Acorn creek, which is a passable translation of the native term. The words for *sleep* and *acorn* are alike in Choctaw, which furnishes some little excuse or palliation for the *you asleep* invention named above.

OAKTARK—a bayou of Noxubee in Oktibbeha County. Corrupted from "Hohtak," which means an *abandoned beaver pond*.

OKAHATTA—a creek in Newton County; also a creek in Oktibbeha County. *White water*; "oka," *water*, "hvtá," *white*.

OSKA BOGUE—a creek in Newton County. "Oski bok," *Cane creek*.

OTUKALOFA—a creek in Lafayette County. Worn down from "Otvpi Kolofa," which may be translated *Chestnut stump*; "Otvpi," *Chestnut tree*, "Kolofa," *cut off*.

PASCAGOULA—a river in Southern Mississippi. It received its name from the tribe that once lived on its waters. "Pvska Okla," "Pvskokla," *Bread People*.

PINNYSHOOK—a creek in Winston County. "Pinashshuk," *Linn tree*. The Choctaw town Pinashshuk was situated a mile and a half east of Plattsburg.

¹¹Gatschet's *Migration Legend*, vol. i, p. 101.

PELAHATCHIE—a creek in Rankin County. “Apeli hvch-cha,” *Hurricane river*.

PENANTLA—a creek in Jasper County. Worn down from “Peni ai ontala,” *Boat landing*.

SANOOSSEE—a creek in Kemper County. “Issi anusi,” *Deer sleep there*.

SATARTIA—a town in Yazoo County. “Issito asha,” “Issitasha,” *Pumpkins are there*.

SEBOGLIE—a creek in Calhoun County. “Shohboli,” *Smoke*.

SOCTEHOMA—a creek in Chickasaw County. Correctly written “Sakti homma,” *Red bluff*.

SOOKATONCHIE—a creek in Chickasaw and Clay Counties. Somewhat corrupted from “Shukha tanchi,” *hog corn*, meaning *beech mast*, which the aborigines highly prized for fattening hogs.

SOWASHA—a creek near Meridian. “Shau ash,” “Shau ash,” *Coons are there*.

SHONGALO—a creek in Scott County. “Shakoloh,” *cypress*.

SHUBUTA, or SHUBOTA—a town in Clarke County. This word, of which the English and the Choctaw spelling are alike, signifies *Smoky*. The statement in Prof. W. L. Weber’s article in the *Publications* of the Mississippi Historical Society, vol. i, p. 21, that it signifies *Sour meal*, is erroneous. He probably made this statement on the authority of others. The inventor of this erroneous etymology doubtless supposed that it was a compound, made by uniting “shua,” *bad smelling*, and “bota,” *meal*. But the adjective in Choctaw *invariably* follows its noun, never precedes it as in English. To speak of *bad smelling meal*, a Choctaw would say “bota shua.”

SHUQUALAK—a town in Noxubee County. This is “Shivklla,” *beads*. A tradition exists that once in ancient times, during a war between the Choctaws and Creeks, some of the former went over to the Creeks and bore arms against their own people. Afterwards, when peace prevailed between the two tribes and these Choctaws were returning to their old homes, their people put them all to death near the present Shuqualak. The victims wore on their persons a profusion of beads, of which they were not despoiled by their executioners. Long afterwards the num-

ber of beads found scattered on the place of execution attracted attention, and the locality, with the neighboring creek, from this circumstance, is said to have received the name, "Shikvlla," since corrupted into Shuqualak.

SHUKHVTA VLBI BOK—a creek in Landerdale County. It signifies *creek where opossums are killed*, and is the modern Possum Creek.

SUKALENA—a creek in Landerdale County. Much corrupted from "Sakti abena," which means *camp on the bank*, that is a creek on whose banks are camps.

TALASHA—a creek in Neshoba and Newton Counties. *Palmettos are there; "Tala," palmetto, "asha," is there, are there.* It was so called from the great abundance of palmettos that once grew in its bottoms in the upper part of Newton County.

TALLULA—a P. O. in Issaquena County. "Tvli ola," *Sounding metal, i. e., a bell.*

TALLYHAGIA—a creek in Winston County. "Tvli hikia," *Standing rock.* Once a large upright rock stood upon its right bank, a few hundred yards above the Lake road, from which the creek derived its name. "Hikia" is singular, which shows that "Tvli" is singular.

TALLYHALY—two large creeks in Mississippi, which unite with Leaf river in Smith County. "Tvli hieli," *Standing rocks.* Both "Hieli" and "tvli" are plural.

TCHULA—a creek in Holmes County. The name signifies *fox*, correctly spelled "Chula."

TOBYTUBBEE—a creek near Grenada. The name is derived from a person. "Atobitvbi," *the one who pays and kills.*

TOCKSHISH—the name of the missionary station ten miles south of Pontotoc. "Iti akshish," *tree root; "Iti," tree, "akshish," root.*

TONY CANY—a creek in Newton County. It is said by some of the Choctaws to be a corruption of "Tonik hieli," *Standing posts; "Tonik," a post, "hieli, standing.*

TOOGALOO—a town in Hinds County. "Iti Okla," *Forest people.*

TUSCALAMETA—a creek in Newton County. "Tvshka himita," *Young warrior.*

TUSCANOLA—a town in Jones County. Corrupted and worn down from "Tvshka nan anoli," which means *Warrior's*

messenger. See Lowry and McArdle's *History of Mississippi*, p. 507, where it is misprinted Tuscaloma.

YANUBBEE—a creek in Lee and Kemper Counties. "Yanvbih," *Iron wood*. Yannubbee Town in Kemper County was situated on Yanubbee creek, eight miles southwest of De Kalb. It was a place of some celebrity in Choctaw history.

YOKANOOGANY—a creek in Attala and Leake Counties. All that can be said about this word is the statement of old Indian countrymen that it is a corruption of "Yakni aiokli," *Beautiful land*.

WIA TAKALI—a Choctaw town, mentioned in Gatschet's *Migration Legend*, vol. i, p. 108. It signifies *Hanging Loft*. This town was situated in the southern part of Neshoba County, about a mile south of the De Kalb and Jackson road, in the southwest quarter of Sec. 20, Township 9, Range 13, East. The Indians of this locality erected a large brush arbor, called by them "Wia Takali," under which they were accustomed to meet for their councils and general amusements. From this arbor the village received its name.

VI. GENERAL AND STAFF OFFICERS FROM ALABAMA IN THE WAR, 1861-65¹

LIEUTENANT GENERAL.

Name.	Date of Rank.	Remarks.
Jas. Longstreet,	Oct. 9, '62.	

MAJOR GENERALS.

Jas. Longstreet,	Oct. 7, '61.	Promo. Lt. Gen'l Oct. 9, '62.
Jones M. Withers,	Apr. 6, '62.	
John H. Forney,	Oct. 27, '62.	
R. E. Rodes,	May 2, '63.	
J. B. Gordon,	May 14, '62.	
[H. D. Clayton,	July 7, '64].	
[W. W. Allen,	Mar. —, '65].	

BRIGADIER GENERALS.

Jas. Longstreet,	June 17, '61.	Promo. Maj. Gen'l Oct. 7, '61.
Jones M. Withers,	July 10, '61.	Promo. Maj. Gen'l Apr. 6, '62.
L. P. Walker,	Sept. 17, '61.	Resigned Mar. 31, '62.
R. E. Rodes,	Oct. 21, '61.	Promo. Maj. Gen'l May 2, '63.
S. A. M. Wood,	Jan. 7, '62.	Resigned Oct. 17, '63.
D. Leadbetter,	Feb. 27, '62.	
John H. Forney,	Mar. 10, '62.	Promo. Maj. Gen'l Oct. 27, '62.
Edw. D. Tracy,	Aug. 16, '62.	Killed at Port Gibson, La.
E. M. Law,	Oct. 3, '62.	
A. Gracie, Jr.,	Nov. 4, '62.	
Z. C. Deas,	Dec. 13, '62.	
James Canty,	Jan. 8, '63.	
H. D. Clayton,	Apr. 22, '63.	[Promoted as above].
J. B. Gordon,	May 7, '63.	Promo. Maj. Gen'l May 14, '64.
Isam W. Garrott,	May 28, '63.	Killed at Vicksburg.
P. D. Roddy,	Aug. 3, '63.	
C. A. Battle,	Aug. 20, '63.	
E. W. Pettus,	Sept. 18, '63.	
J. T. Morgan,	Nov. 16, '63.	
I. H. Kelley,	Nov. 16, '63.	
J. H. Clanton,	Nov. 16, '63.	
W. W. Allen,	Feb. 26, '64.	
Alpheus Baker,	Mar. 5, '64.	
B. D. Fry,	May 24, '64.	
[J. C. C. Sanders,	May 31, '64].	
[J. T. Holtzclaw,	July 7, '64].	
[George D. Johnston,	July 26, '64].	
[Charles M. Shelley,	Sept. 17, '64].	
[J. Gargas,	Nov. 10, '64].	
[W. H. Forney,	Feb. 15, '65].	[Nov. 9, '64].
[Y. M. Moody,	Mar. 4, '65].	
[W. F. Perry,	Feb. 21, '65].	
[P. D. Bowles,	Apr. 2, '65].	

¹The original of this list is on file, among the W. H. Fowler papers, in the office of the Adjutant General of Alabama, dated July 20, 1864, and endorsed as "Official." Some additions have been made, which are indicated by being enclosed in brackets.

Consult the following printed sources for further statistical matter: *List of Staff Officers of the Confederate States Army, 1861-1865* (1891); *Executive and Congressional Directory of the Confederate States, 1861-1865* (1899); and Col. Charles C. Jones' *Roster of General Officers*, etc., published as an appendix to the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, volumes i and ii, 1876.

AIDES-DE-CAMP APPOINTED FROM ALABAMA.

D. F. Withers,	Gen'l Withers,	Sept. 2, '61.	
J. W. Mallett,	" Rodes,	Nov. 16, '61.	Resigned May 31, '62.
T. J. Goree,	" Longstreet,	Dec. 31, '61.	
H. C. Wood,	" Wood,	Feb. 17, '62.	Appt. Maj. and C. S. Oct. 14, '62.
Jno. M. Wiley,	" Forney,	Apr. 25, '62.	
Jas. L. Fraser,	" S. Jones,	Apr. 25, '62.	
H. F. Witherspoon,	" Leadbetter,	May 1, '62.	Resigned July 22, '62.
P. T. Sutton,	" Rodes,	May 27, '62.	Resigned Jan. 9, '63.
C. L. Mathews (sic),	" Loring,	May 1, '62.	
R. W. Withers,	" Withers,	Aug. 27, '62.	
Jas. Battle,	" Slaughter,	Oct. 29, '62.	
Clifton Walker,	" Tracy,	Nov. 3, '62.	Vacated by death of Gen'l T.
Little Smith,	" Forney,	Nov. 21, '62.	
E. B. Cherry,	" Gracie,	Nov. 4, '62.	Vacated by death of Gen'l G.
Thos. G. Jones,	" Gordon,	Jan. 2, '63.	
Wm. Simpson,	" Wood,	Oct. 10, '62.	Vacated by resig'n of Gen'l W.
J. W. Hutchinson,	" Rodes,	May 12, '63.	Killed May 12, '64.
C. K. Hall,	" Clayton,	May 26, '63.	Resigned Aug. 14, '63.
W. M. Shepard,	" J. G. Martin,	June 23, '63.	
M. G. Hudson,	" Wheeler,	Aug. 3, '63.	
H. R. Shorter,	" Battle,	Sept. 13, '63.	
R. S. Abercrombie,	" Clanton,	Nov. 16, '63.	Appt. Capt. A. A. G. Nov. 16, '63.
Albert Hyer,	" Clanton,	Nov. 16, '63.	
Jas. B. White,	" Humes,	Jan. 7, '64.	
E. Q. Thornton,	" Clayton,	Jan. 14, '64.	
G. Meslier,	" Huggins,	Feb. 19, '64.	
D. B. Hall,	" Granberry,	Mar. 8, '64.	
Chas T. Pollard,	" Allen,	Apr. 18, '64.	
Frank Glover,	" Wilcox,	May 25, '64.	
Mims Walker,	" Law,	June 15, '64.	
Sam'l W. Oliver,	" Gardner,	Apr. 29, '64.	
Jos. F. Dennis,	" A. Baker,	June 15, '64.	
Jos. V. Thomas,	" McNair,	Dec. 11, '64.	

VII. FRENCH EXPLORATION FROM MOBILE.

BY PETER JOSEPH HAMILTON,¹ of Mobile.

The history of French Louisiana has three periods,—roughly, one of settlement under royal control, a second of booming under Law's company, and the third of stagnation. This last terminated with the Seven Years' War, and resulted in the transfer in 1763 of the east half to England and the west half to Spain.

By far the most interesting of these in exploration is the first, from about 1699 to 1722, when the continent was new and the explorers at every step found something new and heard of something strange. It was the time of that accomplished liar Mathieu Saguean, but also of Le Sueur, of St. Denis, of Boisbriant and of Blondel, as well as of Iberville (who died early), and of Bienville, whose governorships outlasted the company itself. The second period, certainly after 1724, was one more of forced development than of exploration, when the capital had been removed to New Orleans and the great river and lower tributaries were lined with concessionaires. These localized the Louisiana which we now know, the country on the lower Mississippi, but their work for that very reason is of local rather than general interest. With the resignation of Bienville and his return to France in 1740 the colony ceased to advance, although to this period belongs the founding of St. Louis by Laclede and his agent Chouteau. But the success of that town was really due to the decadence of Louisiana, and to the accession there of the French whom the treaty of Paris led to emigrate from Fort Chartres and the lands ceded east of the Mississippi.

The first period in some respects might be called the Mobile period, for Biloxi was but an expedient, at first on the east bank of its bay, and again in 1721 on the west bank. Mobile on its two sites, 27 miles up the river in 1702 and from 1710 on the present site, was the true capital. Dauphine Island at the

¹For sketch of Mr. Hamilton, see *Trans. Ala. Hist. Society*, 1897-98, vol. ii, pp. 39-40.

mouth of the bay, (of the Holy Spirit,) which La Salle had noticed and Iberville explored, was the deep water harbor where the ships lay at anchor; but the principal settlement was at Mobile on the main land. The town was of some commercial importance, particularly after control was secured of the two rivers above it, and was the head of the French political control of the Southern Indians. Its whitewashed houses, surrounded by trees and vines, extended six or seven blocks north and south from the fort, and three or four back from the river. Its local story, of course, does not now concern us, but the study of the explorations undertaken from its waters is the history of that part of French work which is most valuable.

The French have always been good explorers and geographers, and, apart from this element, they took natural pride in their new colony. The St. Lawrence and Great Lakes had long since been won and settled. The course of the Mississippi was explored from Canada, and the Illinois country, between the lake portages and the great river, was opened up from the same quarter. But it was left for the LeMoyne brothers, Iberville and Bienville, themselves from Canada, but now of Louisiana, not only to occupy the Gulf coast, and the main stream of the Mississippi, and write large the history of the southern province, but to explore tributary waters and countries, and thus pave the way for settlement of much of what has become the United States.

The coast and the mouth of the Mississippi came first, of course, in order to give a resting place to the colony itself. And then came, more or less chronologically, Le Sueur on the Upper Mississippi, Juchereau de St. Denis on the Ohio, Bienville on the Alabama waters and at the Natchez, Louis de St. Denis on the Red River and in Texas, and Bourgement and Dutisné on the Missouri. The Alabama and the Ohio on the east were explored and fortified to keep out the English; the Red and Arkansas Rivers on the west to keep out the Spanish. And in each case there was a wish, if not half a resolve, to arm the Indians and make inroads on the ancient foe. The Spaniards figured somewhat in the matter of the Missouri, but the controlling motive there was geographical, a desire to find a way to the Pacific.

Two of the most singular features of French exploration in

America were the quarrels of the pioneers and the audacious lies of some adventurers. Perhaps both are exaggerations of national characteristics of that excitable and talkative race. The inscription on Tartarin's monument commemorates that every Frenchman is a Tartarin. And the royal government in setting a governor and an intendant to spy on each other, officially adopted the first weakness, and gave much credence to Hennepin, Lahontan and Sagean, chief exponents of the second.

Of these Munchausens the chief is Mathieu Sagean, a native of Canada. He was inhabitant of the quarter of Montreal which was named for China, on the road to which it was thought to be a station. He pretended to have been with La Salle, and to have had wonderful adventures in Acaniba near the upper Mississippi, the country of King Hageren. There gold was more plentiful than in Peru, and women so numerous, that, as in the Arabian Nights, the king had a new wife every day.² He told his story at Brest in 1700, and was ultimately sent over to Bienville at Biloxi. Le Sueur and Tonty exposed the adventurer, and he was quietly ignored. But Lahontan's fabulous Riviere Longue flowing to the southwest and pointing the way to the Pacific deceived even the great geographer Delisle. It was felt that there must be a river in the north leading to where the Chinese were supposed to trade, and some river in the south must lead to New Mexico, where the Spaniards were long since settled. In both directions the French hoped for mines of silver or gold, just as on the upper Mississippi they expected those of lead and copper. It is true Iberville in 1700 held out hopes mainly of geographical results, and these by ascent of the Marne (Red River,) Akansas (Arkansas) or the Missouri; but to the court the *grande affaire* in the expeditions was the discovery of mines.³ Scientific study of the natives and their languages concerned neither court nor pioneer.

It was not remarkable that attention was paid to the unknown West. La Salle, Tonty, Joliet, Marquette and many wood rangers had become acquainted with the Great Lakes, their portages into the Ohio or the Mississippi; but the source of the Mississippi and its western affluents to the north and south remained

²6 Margry, pp. 95, 170.

³6 Margry, pp. 177-8; *Ibid.*, p. 351.

for exploration from Louisiana. And they were explored even before much was found out about the Gulf region itself.

I. THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI.

Iberville on his return in August, 1699, brought Le Sueur, St. Denis and Boisbriant, as well as Penicaut, who was to tell so much of their adventures. Le Sueur was accompanied by miners and was himself an old pioneer, whose earlier history led up to what he was to accomplish from Louisiana.⁴

Le Sueur was therefore a fit man to explore the North West, and by royal permission now ascended the Mississippi to the Sioux country. He set out in April, 1700, in a *chaloupe* with twenty-five men, among them Penicaut. On the way they found an English trader among the Arkansas, who gave them some supplies, and saluted their flag, although travelling under passport of the Governor of Carolina by way of the Ohio (Ouabache) River. They passed Ecores a Margot, Ecores a Prudhomme, (named by La Salle,) the Arkansas, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri and bluffs near where St. Louis now stands. They found Père Davion among the Tonicas, speak of seeing Montigny, and met Frenchmen on the Mississippi. Thirty traders gave their old acquaintance, Le Sueur, a warm welcome among the Illinois somewhat below the mouth of the Missouri, and among them were Father Berger, Bouteville, St. Cosme, and two Jesuits. The Illinois River he notes as the route to Canada, via the Chicago country, from the south, and the Ouisconsin, with another portage to Lake Michigan, as the route from Canada for traders among the Sioux (Scioux). Higher was the fort named for Perrot and near it an islet on which traders wintered. They were stopped by the Falls of St. Anthony and turned up the St. Pierre and its branch the Green (or Blue) River, to build their

⁴He had come over to Canada in 1683 and gone by way of Lake Superior and the Wisconsin River to the Sioux. Six years later he was with Nicholas Perrot in his discoveries. One account says that in 1693 he was sent by Cadillac, governor of Detroit, to the Sioux Indians, but La Harpe has it that in 1693 he built a fort on an island in the upper Mississippi by order of Frontenac and effected a peace between the Chippewas and the Sioux.—Shea's *Early French Voyages*, p. 90. He descended with a chief of each nation on a visit to Montreal, and thus brought them under French control. He had already discovered the Minnesota River, which he called the St. Pierre. In 1697 while in France he received a short-lived permission to open mines. Before coming with Iberville he had been captured by the English on an earlier attempt and in his absence his Mississippi fort had been abandoned.

Fort L'Huilier. This was named for that one of the farmers-general who had in 1696 assayed the copper which Le Sueur had taken thence to France.⁵

Le Sueur had numerous interviews with the Sioux and returned, but the expedition wintered at the fort, in what is now Minnesota. Le Sueur brought back from it 1,300 pounds of green earth, which he took to France. But it led to no settlement and the troops were soon withdrawn. The green earth was highly esteemed in France, as the supply from Germany was running out, but its nature is not mentioned. He was the constant cause of fear and suspicion to the company and authorities of Canada, who accused him of engaging in the beaver trade. In October of this year we find his wife coming down from Montreal to show Callières a letter from the home government allowing his associates to send to the Sioux the goods which had already been two years at Montreal. But the governor thought that two hundred guns had no proper connection with such a trade, and made her exchange them for other goods. We know that Le Sueur took his family to Mobile and that they were long prominent there. He applied for the position of judge at Mobile, with the salary of five hundred escus. Pontchartrain in 1703 refused it, but told Iberville the King would pay Le Sueur when on official business among the Sioux and Illinois. He is said to have died on the way thither from France.⁶

II. LOWER MISSISSIPPI.

But apart from Le Sueur the main discoveries at first were further south, near the seat of the colony. After the discovery of the Mississippi mouth, Iberville and Bienville ascended the river far enough to learn the names of different tribes, before Le Sueur's green earth trip, and Bienville explored the country more thoroughly afterwards, sometimes accompanied by Penicaut. A fort was built on the first firm ground above the mouth, and the lowest large tribe, the Oumas, were found at the portage via Bayou St. Jean to the Sound, where New Orleans was to be built many years later. Higher, nearly opposite where Bayou Manchac branched off to Lake Pontchartrain, was another bayou

⁵ Margry, p. 400; Shea's *Early French Voyages*, p. 105.

⁶ Margry, pp. 87-89; *Colonial Mobile*, p. 123; 4 Margry, 634; 5 Id. p. 361.

going to the west. This was named from the Chetimachias upon it and is now the fork, Lafourche. Yet higher, opposite the mouth of the Red River, were the Tonicas, and a little above them, also on the east side, were that remarkable race, the Natchez. The Yazoos came next on their river, and the Arkansas on the west bank of the Mississippi completed in that direction what was to become Louisiana. There were smaller tribes, such as the Tchaouachas below the Oumas, the Chapitoulas, Colapissas, Bayagoulas, and Coroas not far above. Of these the Taensas near the Tonicas were the most interesting. They were moved by Bienville in 1714 to the neighborhood of his fort at Mobile, and became quite civilized.

With these nations the French were intimate in peace or war. The colonists had many Indian slaves, the fruits of conquest, even before 1710. The Mobile church records name a number "Schittimachas," and Natchitoché, Chicacha, Alibamon, Tensa and even Padoka (Comanche) occur.⁷

The Natchez live in history on account of their native civilization and fire worship, described by Penicaut, and because of their tragic extermination in 1729. Péré Montigny was among them a short time, but labored unsuccessfully. Traders fared better, and Cadillac established a "bureau" there in 1713 under MM. De La Loire, to counteract the English, who already traded even to the Mississippi. The Indians were friendly for a while, but at last murdered some French on the river and Bienville in 1715 exacted redress. He seized chiefs, had the murderers punished, and even obtained a site for a fort. Pailoux, who had built the forts at Mobile and Toulouse, now erected Fort Rosalie, the first permanent settlement of the French in the Mississippi Valley below Kaskaskia. Such was the origin of Natchez.⁸

III. RED RIVER.

Gravier in 1700 says the French already talk much of the Red River, and Penicaut, on his return in 1701 from Minnesota, heard of an expedition of Bienville and St. Denis up this river, then called the Marne. The object was to learn the eastern

⁷ *Colonial Mobile*, p. 64.

⁸ Margry, pp. 44, 506, 525; *Colonial Mobile*, p. 80; Winsor's *Mississippi Basin*, p. 101.

limit of New Mexico, the old Spanish colony, as well as to see if there were any mines. They went as far as the Nassitoches (Natchitoches) and the Cadodaquios, and found no mines. But at least they found no Spaniards, (although legend places the death of De Soto at the mouth of Red River,) and they learned that Spaniards sometimes came thus far. High water interfered with them, and fuller exploration was left for St. Denis some years later.

Louis de St. Denis was a lieutenant at the first fort guarding the Mississippi until it was abandoned in 1704, when he settled in Mobile, already for two years the capital of the colony. Then, not receiving his pay, he moved to Biloxi. In 1711 he seems to be at new Mobile, for on the interesting plan of that date lately discovered he is assigned a regular city lot on the tree-shaded parade, immediately facing the palisaded fort.⁹ His peculiar talents were well known, and when by letters patent, September 14, 1712, Louisiana (except Illinois) was leased to Crozat, and La Mothe Cadillac from Detroit succeeded Bienville as governor, a new field was open to St. Denis. Mines and commerce were the *ignis fatuus* of Cadillac, and, while he went to the Illinois to find the former, he sent St. Denis with 10,000 livres of goods up Red River to open trade with the Spaniards and spy out the land. This paladin accordingly left Dauphine Island, August 23, 1714, with twenty-five men in five canoes.

One would hardly expect to see canoes used for such a trip, but they probably did not leave from the fort and harbor on the Gulf side. That settlement was a flourishing place, where ocean ships came and went, the point of transshipment of goods between Mobile on the river and Europe across the water. St. Denis no doubt set out from the cove on the north side of the island, still overlooked by the aboriginal shell banks. After he crossed to the mainland, near modern Portersville, he could have a smooth passage through the island-sheltered Sound to the Rigolets, Lake Pontchartrain, and by the Bayou St. Jean and portage into the Mississippi River.

St. Denis proceeded up that and Red River to the tribe of Natchitoches. These he reconciled with other Indians with whom they were at war, and he re-settled some who had previously abandoned the country and gone to live near Biloxi.

⁹ *Colonial Mobile*, p. 72; Charlevoix, letter 30; 6 Margry, p. 238.

Penicaut accompanied St. Denis on this expedition and gives a minute description of Red River, with its falls and branches. They found among the neighboring Assinai a woman named Angelique, who had been baptized by priests of a Spanish mission and spoke their language. St. Denis left his wares at Natchitoches with a guard and himself pressed on to the Rio Grande. There he found Spaniards, at the mission of St. John the Baptist, under command of Raimond. This commandant sent to Mexico for instructions and finally St. Denis was conducted there himself.¹⁰

St. Denis had thus got quite away from the Red River country and passed through the region vaguely known as that of the Tejas or Texas. As Cadillac complained, St. Denis did more harm than good, for the Spaniards declined his offer of trade and became suspicious that the French desired to extend their bounds. The voyage of Durigouin, sent by Cadillac about the same time on a trading trip to Vera Cruz, met with a similar repulse. The net result was that St. Denis was sent back, and the Spaniards re-occupied several points in the interior which they had abandoned.

An interesting side affair, not down on the bills, was that St. Denis had fallen in love with Raimond's daughter Maria, and on his return married her. On his report to Mobile in 1716, Cadillac determined to occupy Natchitoches before the Spaniards, and succeeded next year in getting Dutisné there just in time, for Spanish cavalry had got as far as the Assinai. St. Denis was instructed to ally the savages in the French interest.¹¹

St. Denis undertook a secret trip with Jalot, his valet, to see his wife at St. John Baptist, and had a variety of adventures. The date given by Penicaut seems to be the same as that given by La Harpe for the expedition of St. Denis and his Canadian associates, Graveline, De Lery, De La Fresniere, Beaulieu frères, and Derbanne. They took 43,200 livres of goods for trade *via* Natchitoches. Don Martin de Alarcommé, captain general and governor of the province of Texas, arrested St. Denis and confiscated the goods. His companions turned back, but he finally obtained release for himself and property, sold it privately to advantage, and returned to Dauphine Island in March, 1719.

¹⁰6 Margry, p. 194; 5 *Ibid*, p. 497.

¹¹5 Margry, pp. 527, 537; 6 *Ibid*, p. 199.

Natchitoches remained occupied, for Blondel was that year in command of the French fort of St. John Baptist, and in 1721 we find La Harpe exploring the river by Bienville's command. La Harpe's account is in great detail and gives a clear account of the rivers and neighboring countries. The war with Spain, however, recalled him. Bienville received news in the fall from the commandant that the Spaniards were fortifying among the Adayes, and sent a vigorous protest.¹²

IV. TEXAS.

As to Texas, we find the Natchitoches question complicated with that of the Spanish boundary on the coast. The French claim dated from La Salle, who was assassinated in 1687 near Trinity River. As early as 1707 the French Court had ordered stakes (*poteaux*) planted, with the royal arms, at the eastern and western limits of Louisiana; but when Bienville five years later sought to place them he was opposed by the Spanish government of Pensacola. St. Denis, as we have seen, found the Spaniards claiming the coast and interior.

When the King ceded the province to the Compagnie, it was with the power of making forts, and in 1718 they determined to establish one at the Bayou St. Bernard. Bienville accordingly on August 10, 1721, made La Harpe commandant of the proposed post and sent him there with twenty soldiers to plant the royal arms and build a fort to repel attack. Simars de Belle Isle had been wrecked there in the *Marechal d' Estrées* and he showed La Harpe the way. La Harpe returned with a glowing report, but, as the Indians were hostile, Bienville abandoned the idea of making so distant a settlement at a time when men and boats were needed nearer home.¹³

V. OHIO RIVER.

Penicaut's "Arkansas traveller," we saw, had come from Carolina by way of the Ouabache or Ohio River and the French soon explored this region. La Salle had been in doubt whether the Ohio (St. Louis or Chicagou) River emptied into the bay St.

¹² Some years later St. Denis was himself in command and on Christmas 1735 he very emphatically replies to a similar protest of Gonzales on the Spanish side that he will not stop work on his new fort.—6 Margry, pp. 225, 238, 250.

¹³ 6 Margry, pp. 185, 319, 347, 353.

Esprit, and Iberville at first suspected the same thing when he heard of English from St. George's threatening the Gulf by way of the Ouabache. He recommended in the same letter of July, 1701, that Juchereau de St. Denis of Montreal (a different man from Louis of Texas fame) be granted a land concession at the mouth of the Ouabache. With eight or ten men Juchereau could establish tanneries and stop the beaver trade between the *coureurs de bois* and the English colonies. Tonty had desired the place, and a whole company to guard it, but Iberville's preference prevailed. Juchereau left Michillimackinac for his new post in the fall of 1703, to the joy of Iberville, who heard with much misgivings rumors of an establishment of English from Carolina or Maryland at the junction of the Ohio and Ouabache. He pressed frequently for a fuller exploration of the Ohio, which name at first was confined to the river above the Wabash junction. So far as Juchereau was concerned, however, the experiment was short lived, for in September, 1704, we find Bienville desirous of bringing down his Canadians to Mobile on account of the death of Juchereau the preceding year.¹⁴

In 1710 Remonville advised that Detroit be abandoned and the inhabitants settled at Mobile, or a part settled where the Ouabache empties into the Mississippi, on account of the copper and lead and because hunting was good there. But this was not done, and indeed next year it was alleged that the Miamis and Mascoutins of that region avoided the French at Mobile because of injuries received at Detroit.

As late as 1720, when Charlevoix found no settlement, Law instructs Duvergier that one of the principal objects of the company was to locate troops upon the Ouabache to keep out the English and establish a tannery there.¹⁵ Late maps show that the French actually had a fort at the mouth and a stockade on the Ohio where the Wabash empties into it. But the fact is that not many Indian tribes dwelled on the Ohio, and, on account of this and interruption of navigation by the Falls, the French did not make much use of the river. They wanted rather to keep the English out than use it themselves. But Celorin's

¹⁴ Margry, pp. 472, 478, 487, 627-8; 5 Id. pp. 349, 354, 368; Shea's *Early French Voyages*, p. 120.

¹⁵ Margry, pp. 369, 372, 618; Charlevoix, letter 28.

prise de possession for that purpose was a late undertaking, and it was left for Americans to settle the Ohio Valley.

VI. ALABAMA AND TOMBIGBEE.

One would suppose that a thorough occupation of the Alabama-Tombigbee basin would have been one of the first endeavors of the French settled at Mobile, but in fact it was not so. The Mississippi, Red and Ohio Rivers came earlier. The reason was that the Alibamon Indians, a foreign member of the Muscogee confederacy, were at first hostile. Tonty, Bienville and Boisbriant ascended to their country in 1702, but it was as fighters rather than as explorers. Bluffs between Selma and Montgomery were named for the two latter. And in 1708 the Alibamons, with allied Cherokees, Abecas and Catawbias, returned the visit.¹⁶ This alliance may have been brought about by English influence, for trading paths to these nations from Virginia and the Carolinas early brought them into close relations with the Atlantic colonies. This expedition injured only friendly Indians, but it pointed out that Louisiana was vulnerable to attack around the south of the mountain barrier which hemmed in the English, just as Canada was by way of the Hudson River, which broke that barrier in two, and by the St. Lawrence, which bounded it on the north. Accordingly Bienville in 1714 seized the opportunity of an application by the Alibamon "Emperor" during a war with the English to build Fort Toulouse¹⁷ above the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers. The importance of this step cannot be overestimated, as it commanded the Indians, trade routes and river valleys between Carolina and Louisiana. Twenty years later the Georgians attempted to maintain an offset to it in Fort Okfuskee on the Tallapoosa, forty miles away. But Adair bears tribute to the dangerous character of "Fort Alabama," and from that time Coxe dates the decline of the English influence among the Indians above the Gulf.

The Chickasaws in the country between the headwaters of the Tombigbee and the central Tennessee were always friendly to the English. Fort Okfuskee and its land trails, as well as the

¹⁶5 Margry, p. 477.

¹⁷ See *Trans. Ala. Hist. Society*, 1897-98, p. 132, note, for sketch of Fort Jackson, built long afterwards on the site of Fort Toulouse.

Tennessee route, brought them guns, powder and goods from Virginia. The French did not feel strong enough to attack them until 1736 from Mobile, and then Bienville was disastrously defeated. Yet it resulted in building Fort Tombecbé above the Black Warrior junction, and a trading house on the upper Tombigbee at modern Cotton Gin Port, Mississippi. The portage to the Tennessee became used, and the site of Nashville was occupied by a French trader. The Choctaws, on the other hand, were always friendly to the French and traded to Mobile. There was early a Choctaw mission at Chickasahay, where Beaubois and Petit lived in the twenties, and Testu was murdered in 1713 on his way thence to Mobile.

VII. THE ARKANSAS.

American exploration everywhere owes much to French missionaries, especially to the Jesuits and to the missionaries of Quebec, despite their quarrels over their respective jurisdictions. *Coueurs de bois* frequently if not always preceded them, but the *coueurs* were transitory and unlettered, while the priests had fixed stations and often left records of their work. The *coueurs* are as hard to trace as the English and American traders who first opened the way for Anglo-Saxon civilization, while the names and seats of many of the reverend fathers are well known. The Jesuits settled among the Kaskaskias and elsewhere above the Ohio, and in 1699 Vicar-General Montigny of the Quebec Seminary, together with Davion and St. Cosme, went among the Taensa, Tonicas and Natchez, respectively, lower down the Mississippi. Foucault was soon at the Yazooos, and was murdered in 1702. Near the Arkansas, who had moved from the Ohio, was an early mission, but there was not much done by the French in the way of settlement.

This tribe was located on the Mississippi, rather than on the Arkansas, in three villages, of which the Quapaws seemed to have been the best known. De Soto died and was buried not far away, and under the name of "Akamsea" it was the southernmost point of the voyage of Marquette and Joliet in 1673. It was there that La Salle in 1682 took solemn possession for the King of France and Membré planted the cross. They found peaches and domestic fowl, turkeys and tame bustards, opening up an interesting question as to the origin of the fowl. Gravier

in 1700 found numerous cocks and hens among the Houmas lower down, who did not eat them. The Bayagoula stock was said to have come from a shipwreck, but off Mobile Bay in 1685 La Salle took aboard Indians who said they already had *moutons, cochons, poules, coq d' Inde and vaches*. Tonty had stationed two men at the Arkansas to aid La Salle and they were of assistance to Joutel and Father Douay after La Salle's death. Tonty in vain had asked for confirmation of La Salle's grant of it to him, and had guided St. Cosme thus far on his voyage down the Mississippi in 1699.¹⁸ A Jesuit had ministered at Tonty's Arkansas fort,¹⁹ and at the time of Iberville's first voyage in the fall of 1699 the Minister of the Marine, at the request of the Superior of Foreign Missions, directed him to take with him a missionary to join those already among the Arkansas.

The river Arkansas is said to have had some exploration as early as Crozat's time, but if so nothing came of it. Its nature may be inferred from the fact that the mines on which the Mississippi Bubble was based were supposed to be high up on this river in a mountainous country. Even the more modest plan of colonizing its mouth was not carried out properly. Law was to have settled on the Arkansas River 9,000 Germans from the Palatinate, and Charlevoix pronounces the country second only to the Illinois in capacity for grain. But when he passed in 1720 the settlement was a ruin, although the company still had a magazine and clerk on the Mississippi somewhat higher up. In 1722 La Harpe made an elaborate exploration of the river, but under many inconveniences. One hundred colonists in that year came *via* Ship Island under the direction of M. Elias, and required thirty bateaux to take all their goods and effects. De La Boulaye was directed to move from the Yazoo country and build a fort on the Arkansas River.²⁰

The ultimate result of the Arkansas experiments was abandoned ruins there and the reestablishment of the German colonists lower down the Mississippi at a place known from them as the German Coast. Only a post of thirty men was re-

¹⁸5 Margry, p. 349; Shea's *Early French Voyages*, p. 73.

¹⁹3 Margry, p. 126; Shea's *Early French Voyages*, pp. 126, 146; Shea's *Discovery Miss.*, pp. 169, 220; Shea's *Catholic Missions*, p. 439; 4 Margry, p. 347.

²⁰5 Margry, p. 576; Charlevoix, letter 28.

tained, to reach which it required a trip of six weeks in the case of Jesuit Du Poisson in 1727. He gives a graphic account of the trip on canoes at a time when the banks were overflowed and the current swift. They suffered many hardships, he says, and his description of the mosquitoes is worth quoting in full. This insect has hardly had justice done it in literature. Burns has celebrated the mouse and even an humbler animal, while birds and other things have had their full share. Let us therefore not forget these other companions of our solitude, which have aided Alabama history by giving a name to a seigneurie on Mobile Bay.

"The greatest torment," says Du Poisson, "in comparison with which all the rest would be but sport, which passes all belief, and has never been even imagined in France, still less actually experienced, is that of the mosquitoes, the cruel persecution of the mosquitoes. The plague of Egypt, I think, was not more cruel.

"This little insect has caused more swearing since the French have been in Mississippi, than had previously taken place in all the rest of the world. * * * We make a *boucane*, that is, a great fire, which we stifle afterwards with green branches. But it is necessary for us to place ourselves in the very thickest of the smoke, if we wish to escape the persecution, and I do not know which is worse, the remedy or the evil. After dinner we wish to take a short nap at the foot of a tree, but that is absolutely impossible; the time allotted to repose is passed in contending with the mosquitoes. We embark again in their company, and at sunset, on landing, it is necessary immediately to run out to cut canes, wood and green branches, to make the *baire*, the fire for cooking, and the *boucane*. There it is each one for-himself, but it is not one army, but many armies which we have to combat, for that time of day belongs to the mosquitoes. One is perfectly eaten and devoured. They get into the mouth, the nostrils, and the ears; the face, the hands, the body are all covered; their sting penetrates the dress, and leaves a red mark on the flesh, which swells on those who are not as yet inured to their bite. Chicagon, to enable some of his nation to comprehend what a multitude of French he had seen told them, that he had beheld as many in the great village (at Paris) as there were boughs on the trees, and mosquitoes in the woods. After

having supped in haste, we are impatient to bury ourselves under the *baire*, although we know that we go there to be stifled with the heat. With what address, with what skill does each one glide under his *baire*. But they always find that some have entered with them, and one or two are sufficient to insure a miserable night."

In the "baire" we recognize our own mosquito "bar." The "boucane" was the frame for quickly drying meat not uncommon still among us and which gave the name to the unsettled "buccaneers" of the Gulf.

VIII. THE MISSOURI.

The Missouri region, too, was always a source of interest. The discoloration of the Mississippi by its fierce muddy stream had been noticed by Penicaut, Le Sueur and Remonville, as well as later by Charlevoix, who pronounced their junction the finest confluence in the world. Upon it lived the Missouris, and higher were the Kansas (Cansez) and Pawnees (Panis,) and beyond its mountain source was believed to be a river running west to the Pacific. *Coueurs de bois* early penetrated to the banks of the Missouri, and by 1704 Canadians were there as well as on the Ohio. Four years later Nicolas de La Salle, who, with all his faults, at least was energetic, advocated a systematic exploration, because of "pieces to be found there, which slaves from the nations on that river call iron, of the same color and quality as piastres." He says *coueurs* had ascended three to four hundred leagues without finding the source.

In 1709 Mandeville describes the hair and wool of the innumerable buffaloes (*boeufs* and *vaches*) on the Missouri, and eight years afterwards we find Hubert advocating an expedition to discover mines, as well as the river leading to the western sea; but we do not learn that it was undertaken, unless by Bourgement, who had then been several years among the Missouris. Sieur Presle the next year writes from Dauphine Island that he hears from savages that small men with oblique eyes, wearing clothes and boots, live on a lake six hundred leagues beyond the Panis. They had gold and rubies and were supposed to be Chinese.²¹

The Western Company in 1719 and later explored the neigh-

²¹ Charlevoix, letter 27; 6 Margry, pp. 180, 182, 188, 385.

boring river Marameg for lead and silver. They spent much money, and sent De Lochon, a Spaniard named Anthony, and royal miners under Renaudière; but none of them knew much of the business and they realized little. Charlevoix suspected that even the company director, Renau, would fail as well. But if the story told him by chiefs was true, the Spaniards were alive to danger of French interference, and about 1718 had marched with the view of driving the French even from the Illinois. They defeated some of the Octotafas high up on the Missouri River, but finally, while drunk, were ambushed at the third village. A Catalan pistol, a worthless pair of Spanish shoes, an ointment, and breviary, were the spoils of which Charlevoix learned.

Du Tisé in 1719 ascended the Missouri and has much to say of Osage, Panis, and other tribes, but he did not reach the Padoucas and had to return to Boisbriant at the Illinois.²² The Illinois region always had a triple importance in that it was the highway between the lakes and the Mississippi and was rich in mines and in the production of Indian corn. Under Law it became a part of the Gulf colony, which it largely provisioned. Bienville in 1718 sent Boisbriant up there as governor, and in the next two years they built Fort Chartres on the bank of the Mississippi, between the Kaskaskia and Cahokia Indian villages. This was and long remained the chief seat of French influence in the North-West. Boisbriant remained there until he succeeded Bienville *ad interim* in 1724.

Such is the outline of what the French did in the way of exploring the West and South-West from their Gulf capitals at Biloxi and Mobile. By 1721 the regular settlements were divided into nine districts, which show how far exploration had given way to settlement. They were New Orleans, Biloxi, Mobile, Alibamons, Natchez, Yazoo, Natchitoches, Arkansas and Illinois. At the first four, prices were only 50% higher than in France, and at the first three the company bought rice and leaf tobacco.

One would have supposed that steady growth would follow and that the Mississippi Valley would soon be well peopled and unite Canada and Louisiana. But in fact the Illinois ever re-

²² Charlevoix, letters 27, 19; 6 Margry, p. 309.

mained isolated and even Louisiana became stationary. Settlement was only partial and exploration almost ceased. Why this was is not material to our present inquiry. Perier's ill judged Natchez War, which paralyzed even Bienville's influence on his return, the advance of the English colonies, the wars of France in Europe and her false colonial policy in America, each had its part. But it all goes to show that the brightest part of Louisiana's history, the most important of French explorations after La Salle, were those under the Le Moyne from Mobile and its waters.

CRITICAL NOTE ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

The sources of early French exploration and history are of three classes,—documents, travels, and formal histories. The latter books are of secondary value, but sometimes are based on early manuscripts now lost or not easily accessible.

I. DOCUMENTS.

One would suppose that there were many such extant. Some do survive at Mobile, both in the original and in copies in the first of the MS. volumes in the Probate Court called "Translated Records." They are few in number, however, and are all abstracted in *Colonial Mobile*, (1897). A number of French deeds are also preserved among the Haldimand Papers, of which a calendar has been published by Douglas Brymner, the careful Canadian archivist, in the excellent series of Canadian archives for 1887, and later. The Catholic records at Mobile (from 1704 onwards) are of considerable extent and throw much light on private life and family connections. They have never been published. At New Orleans less seems to exist, but it is compensated by two volumes of abstracts from French archives prepared by M. Margry for the State many years ago. These are kept by the Louisiana Historical Society at Tulane University. They seem to be part of the papers used by Gayarré and by him reported as taken away or destroyed by the Federal troops.—Winson's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. v, p. 74. This collection is invaluable and deserves the closest study. It is made up of detailed abstracts of reports, letters, and papers passing between Bienville and other officials and the French government.

Of printed collections there are two deserving special mention—French's *Historical Collections* and Margry's *Decouvertes*. The contents and value of the first will be considered later. Pierre Margry's volumes are entitled *Decouvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, (Paris). Volumes 3 and 6 contain some matter and illustrations valuable for Alabama history, but volumes 4 and 5 are especially important in that regard. The United States government purchased a number of sets, and the librarian of Congress is authorized to exchange them for other books. Volume 4 (1881) embraces "Discovery by sea of the mouths of the Mississippi and establishments of Lemoyne d'Iberville upon the gulf of Mexico, 1694-1703." Volume 5 (1887) is entitled "First formation of a chain of posts between the River St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico, 1683-1724." They consist of the full text of many reports and State papers, arranged systematically rather than chronologically. The introductions of Margry are admirable, as the work of a man who has given especial attention to the times

of which he treats, and has personally explored much if not all of the French archives.

II. TRAVELS AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY SOURCES.

The French have always been great travellers as well as explorers, and it was to be expected that some would traverse the colony of Louisiana and write out their experiences. Tonty lived at Mobile, but most of his exploration was earlier, while with La Salle, or in Illinois, and to this such of his writings as survive relate. The earliest of the Mobile period, and for our purposes the most valuable, is the work of Penicaut, whom Miss King has happily dubbed "the literary ship-carpenter." He came over while the headquarters were still at Biloxi, and details almost everything of importance at Mobile and elsewhere in the colony during the next 22 years. His memoir was written with the view of securing a pension and is that of a friend of Bienville. It was found in the royal library and several copies have been made. The earliest publication was a translation, 1869, in volume 6 of French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, but this is incorrect in some things, and the classic edition of this first Alabama book is in the 5th volume of Margry. The explorations of Le Sueur, whom Penicaut accompanied on one occasion, are given in notes to Penicaut and elsewhere in Margry, and in the *Journal Historique* attributed to La Harpe. A translation is in volume 3 of French's *Collections*. In the same volume is a part of the *Journal* of Charlevoix, who travelled from Canada to the Gulf, as stated in the text. Under the title of *Letters* a translation was published in London, 1763. He was never at Mobile, but speaks of the place. A Journal of the second Biloxi time in MS. is in the possession of that unwearied bibliopole, George Cusachs of New Orleans. It has value for its side lights mainly. Le Page du Pratz wrote a garrulous *Histoire de la Louisiane*, published in French, 1758, and in English, 1763, but, like Dumont in his *Memoires historiques*, published 1753, and translated in volume 6 of French's *Collections*, has little to say of the part of Louisiana now in Alabama, and of what was accomplished from Mobile. The collection by Mr. B. F. French is thus seen to be desultory but valuable. It is not in chronological order and in each of the seven volumes, published from 1846 to 1875, there is to be found something from French or Spanish sources relative to Southern history or Mississippi valley exploration. As to the Alabama region volumes 3, 5, and 6 are best. Gravier's letter is in the 7th. French's volumes are out of print and it is difficult to buy any of them. There are copies in the Howard Library, New Orleans, Mercantile Library, St. Louis, the Public Library, Chicago, and elsewhere in the hands of collectors and students. The first library named is extremely valuable, and Mr. Beer, the librarian, is endeavoring to make it as near complete for all French times and places as research and money will admit.

Bossu's *Nouveaux Voyages* is an entertaining book, treating of journeys to Fort Toulouse and up the Tombigbee. He never spoils a good story, and as a party man would have rejoiced Dr. Johnson's heart. It was published, 1768, and translated, 1771, but it deals only with the latter part of the French regime. The "Jesuit Relations," so numerous and valuable for North-Western history, are almost valueless for our own. These fathers had but limited jurisdiction about the Gulf, but such few letters as relate to this section may be found in Kip's *Early Jesuit Missions*, (Albany, 1866). It was to be hoped that the indefatigable Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites of Wisconsin would unearth others from the Choctaw missions for his monumental edition of the Relations now in press, but he writes that he has not found any of value.

From the English side we have Jas. Adair, whose rare and valuable *History of American Indians* (London, 1775), is a mine of information. It relates, however, to the later French period and to the English domination.

III. HISTORIES.

There are a number of books on the history of French Louisiana, but those Louisianians almost entirely omit the ante-New Orleans period, or treat it as an episode. Such is the case even with Gayarré's five volume work, otherwise admirable, and with that of Martin in two volumes. Both are based on the now plundered archives of Louisiana and are therefore valuable. They were strictly Orleanists, dealing almost exclusively with New Orleans and the curtailed Louisiana of their day. Miss Grace King has written a good *Life of Bienville*, (Dodd, Mead & Co., 1892,) and, as she follows the documents closely, gives much information not easily accessible elsewhere.

J. W. Monette's *Valley of the Mississippi* (New York, 1846, 2 vols.), has value even for the earlier period, but J. F. H. Claiborne's *Mississippi* (1880) is unreliable. From 1839 onwards come the orations and essays of A. B. Meek on Alabama history, which were collected and republished as *Romantic Passages in Southwestern History*, (S. H. Goetzel & Co., Mobile & New York, 1857). They have always been deservedly popular. Meek was a pioneer in the field, but the want of annotation prevents our knowing his sources. The *History of Alabama*, by A. J. Pickett (Charleston, 1851, 2 vols.; republished, 1896, 1 vol.), was based in part on independent investigations at Paris, and still remains the most entertaining story of Alabama. The fullest for the French era is *Colonial Mobile* (1897,) based on much new material unearthed at Paris and Mobile.

The works of John Gilmary Shea, written largely from a Catholic standpoint, have thrown much light on French exploration and history. Among these may be mentioned as bearing on the subject of the foregoing paper. "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley" in volume 4 of French's *Collections* (1852), *Early Voyages on the Mississippi* (1861), *Catholic Missions* (1854, and reprints), and his *Catholic Church in Colonial Days* (1886). He had partly studied the church registers at Mobile.

The most formidable historical undertaking of late years, perhaps, is the *Narrative and Critical History of America* (8 vols.) edited by Justin Winsor, the late lamented librarian at Harvard. Volume 5 (1887) covers the French period, with a bibliography. The slight historical text is supplied by A. M. Davis, but we have also an account by Mr. Winsor himself in his *Mississippi Basin* (Boston, 1895). Even Winsor calls the fort at Mobile *St. Louis*, thus quite missing its distinction from all other forts in Louisiana, and Davis speaks of Dauphin Island, instead of Dauphine Island, and actually gives no account of the founding of Mobile on either site. It was high time for a re-study and re-statement of the colonial period of Alabama's coast, and of the exploration effected from it. This has been attempted in *Colonial Mobile*, and in the foregoing paper on Early French Exploration.

VIII. THE TREATY OF DANCING RABBIT CREEK BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE CHOCTAW INDIANS IN 1830.

BY ANTHONY WINSTON DILLARD,¹ of Gainesville.

I purpose writing an hitherto unwritten chapter in the history of the United States, and, to a limited degree, an unwritten chapter in the history of Alabama.

In 1857-8, while I was collecting materials for a history of Sumter County, Ala., on which I was then engaged, I wrote to Col. George Strother Gaines, who resided at State Line, Miss., entreating him to furnish me all the data in his possession concerning the early settlement of Sumter by the whites. He consented in the most obliging manner to do so, but informed me that, on account of defective vision he would have to dictate

¹Anthony Winston Dillard, son of Dr. John James and Nancy Jones (Winston) Dillard, was born in Tuscumbia, Ala., April 22, 1827. His father was a native of Amherst Co., Va. His mother, born in Franklin Co., Ala., was a daughter of Col. Anthony Winston, of Buckingham Co., Va., son of Capt. Anthony Winston, a revolutionary soldier, of Hanover Co., Va. Mr. Dillard was educated at Centre College, Ky., Jackson College, Columbia, Tenn.; and is a lawyer by profession. He was Probate Judge of Sumter Co., Ala., 1856 to 1862; and Chancellor of the Western Division, 1868 to 1880. He participated in the stirring discussions of the decade preceding the War between the States, and was in the Charleston Convention of May, 1860. In 1858 and '59 he published as "Lorgnette," in the *Montgomery Confederation* a series of twenty-five letters in opposition to the secession plan proposed by Hon. William L. Yancey in his Slaughter letter. His literary work of a miscellaneous and historical character has been extensive. He has been a frequent contributor to the *Southern Literary Messenger* (1860); the *Field and Fireside*, Athens, Ga. (1861); the *New York News* (1868); the *XIX Century*, Charleston, S. C. (1868); the *Gulf Citizen* (1878); the *Southern Law Journal* (1878-9); the *Meridian Mercury* (1879); the *Alabama Historical Reporter* (1885); the *Montgomery Advertiser*; the *Mobile Register*, and many other Alabama papers. In the *Messenger*, Livingston, Ala., 1857, he published about twelve chapters of a proposed "History of Sumter County, 1832-1856," and in the *Gainesville Independent*, 1858, he republished five chapters. These have never appeared in book form. In the *Livingston Journal*, 1872, he published a series of sketches of the "Lawyers of West Alabama," comprising about forty members of the bar then practicing in his Chancery Division. He was married, Nov. 13, 1849, to Malvina C., daughter of Major Edward and Malvina (Cammack) Herndon, of Sumter Co., but natives of Fredericksburg, Va. He was the son of Edward Herndon, a Revolutionary soldier. See Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 530, 532.

such facts and events as he was able to communicate to one of his sons who would act as his secretary. This paper, a review of the events connected with the cession of their lands by the Choctaws to the United States by the Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty, embraces, with other matters, the facts supplied me by him on that subject.

Colonel Gaines said that the United States had appointed John H. Eaton, the Secretary of War, and Gen. John Coffee, of Lauderdale County, Ala., Commissioners² to treat with the Choctaws for the sale and cession of their lands. Dancing Rabbit Creek had been agreed upon for the meeting of the Indians and the two Commissioners. This creek was in Winston or in Noxubee County.³ The government entered into a contract with Colonel Gaines to have on the ground selected for the conference, a supply of provisions sufficient to subsist 3,000 persons for a week, and he had collected this supply of provisions at considerable expense and trouble to himself. The Indians used paths, and had no roads,⁴ hence Colonel Gaines was compelled to transport the supply of flour and corn meal on Indian ponies to the place of meeting.

The United States Commissioners arrived at the place of meeting agreed upon and found a large number of Indians already assembled. The conference was opened by the commissioners stating that the purpose and object of this conference was to make and enter into a treaty with the Choctaws for the sale and cession of all their lands situated in Alabama and Mississippi to the United States, and for the removal of the Choctaws to lands west of the Mississippi, such lands to be selected by the warriors chosen by the Choctaws. Colonel Gaines said this proposition acted as a bomb thrown among the Choctaws. It filled them with surprise, astonishment, excitement, grief and resentment. Not a single Choctaw favored the sale and cession of the lands of the tribe. It had not a solitary advocate among them.

² Eaton was one of Jackson's biographers, and a man of prominence in Tennessee public life. See Parton's *Life of Jackson, passim*. For an excellent biographical sketch of Gen. Coffee, see Smith and DeLand's *Northern Alabama* (1888), pp. 298-306; *steel portrait*.

³ For location and description of the treaty ground, see *Mississippi School Report*, 1893-95, pp. 542-45, where a sketch of the making of the treaty is given by Prof. H. S. Halbert.

⁴ See "Early Roads of Alabama," in *Trans. Ala. Hist. Society*, 1897-98, vol. ii, pp. 39-56.

John Pitchlyn, who spoke both the English and the Choctaw languages fluently, had been hired by the Federal government to act as interpreter for the occasion.⁵

The Indians, according to Colonel Gaines, drew up and signed, in their rude fashion, a "Round Robin," denouncing and threatening death to any chief who should sign a treaty for the sale and cession of the lands of the tribe and for the removal of the tribe across the Mississippi River. This indignant protest was duly presented to the leading chiefs. The Choctaws constituted a confederacy. The territory of the tribe was divided into three divisions, and each of the divisions was ruled by a chief, chosen by the warriors in his division. These chiefs had only the care and regulation of local affairs in the territory assigned to them, by metes and bounds.⁶

The three chiefs of the Choctaw Confederacy, at date of the Dancing Rabbit Treaty, were Greenwood Leflore, in the Western Division, who lived near the present site of Yazoo city. He was the son of a French trader and merchant, who had settled among the Choctaws and married a Choctaw woman. This chief refused to remove west of the Mississippi and resigned his chieftainship. He was, for several years, a State Senator in Mississippi, and Gov. John J. Pettus, who was also a State Senator, informed me that on a bill to regulate the sale of liquor coming up for discussion, Leflore had made one of the most pathetic, impassioned and eloquent speeches he ever heard in opposition to the sale of "fire water." He said the whites had introduced the destroying angel—"fire-water"—among his race, and it had blighted, withered and ruined his race, the Indians. And the white man, who prided himself on his civilization, intelligence and piety, had often made the Indians drunk with "fire water," and while they were in that condition, gone through the farce of buying their lands, at the most trifling price.⁷

⁵His wives were: (1) Rhoda Folsom, and (2) Sophia Folsom, both of whom were of mixed blood. One of his sons was Major Peter Pitchlyn, prominent in the Choctaw Nation. Major John Pitchlyn died in 1835, aged about 70 years, and is buried on the Tombigbee river, not far from Waverly.

⁶See Claiborne's *Mississippi*, p. 489, for full discussion of Indian forms of government.

⁷His father was Louis LeFleur (improperly called Leflore), "a small man, a Canadian, speaking a singular *patois* of provincial French and Choctaw." For sketch of him see Claiborne's *Mississippi*, p. 116, note.

Mushulatubbee was the chief of the Northeast Division. The father of the writer of this article purchased from Mushulátabbee the tract of land assigned him by the Dancing Rabbit treaty, and resided there from Dec. 1, 1832, to Dec. 1, 1834.⁸

The chief of the Southeastern Division was named Nittakechi, who resided near the site of Daleville, Landerdale County, Miss. He was third in succession from Pushmataha, and was the oldest and most influential chief.⁹ He was gifted with great decision of character and doggedness of purpose, traits which never fail to add to the weight and influence of men irrespective of race.

Col. Gaines said all the Indian chiefs spoke with energy and impassioned eloquence against the sale and cession of their hunting grounds. They dwelt on the fact that the Choctaws had always lived on terms of friendship with the white man from the time of his first landing on their shores, and had never been engaged in war with the French, the Spanish, the English, or the Americans. When Bill Weatherford was making war on the whites in Alabama and was about to destroy them, the Choctaws had raised a band of 300 warriors, headed by Pushmataha, and, joining the American army, had fought against the Creeks. This proof of friendship on the part of the Choctaws for the Americans had been forgotten by the whites who now proposed

For sketches of Greenwood Leflore see, *Ibid* p. 515, with *portrait*; and Lowry and McArdle's *History of Mississippi* (1891), pp. 450-2. He lived in Carroll Co., Miss., which he represented in the State Senate, 1840-43. A county of that State has been named for him. There are descendants both in Miss. and in the Choctaw Nation. Ben Leflore, brother of Greenwood, married a daughter of Pierre Juzan. She was a grand niece of Pushmataha. See also W. T. Lewis' *Centennial History of Winston County, Miss.*; H. B. Cushman's MS. *History of the Choctaws*; and *Senate Report*, No. 314, April 29, 1874, on the petition of John D. Leflore and James C. Harris, executors of the last will of Greenwood Leflore, 43rd Cong. 1st Sess.

⁸ He had two homes in Mississippi, one in Noxubee Co., about five miles northeast of Brooksville, the other at the present village of Mashulaville, named for him. He died in 1849 in San Bois Co., Choctaw Nation. Meager references are found in Claiborne, p. 508; Gaines' *Reminiscences*; and Lewis' *Winston County*. For etymology of name, see *Trans. Ala. Hist. Society*, 1897-98, vol. ii, p. 109; and as to how he received the name see *Miss. School Report*, 1893-95, p. 544.

⁹ Col. Gaines had a high admiration for this chief, as appears from a sketch of his character furnished Mr. Lewis, and used by him in his *History of Winston Co.* He died about 1836 or 1837 on the Red River in the Choctaw Nation. See Claiborne; Gaines; and *Transactions, supra*, p. III.

to force the Choctaws to sell and leave the hunting grounds of their fathers.

A sub-chief, called Little Leader,¹⁰ surpassed all the Indians who spoke on this occasion in energy of expression and fiery eloquence. He declared he would neither sell nor leave the lands and homes of his fathers, and that he would go away and gather his warriors for the protection of the homes of his people. The white man had neither justice nor gratitude, but wanted to strip the Red man of all his lands, and move him across the Mississippi to strange hunting grounds, where water and wood were both scarce. The Choctaws had already sold all their lands on the east side of the Tombecbee to the white man, but now he wanted to get possession of all their other lands and to move him to a strange country, unknown to their fathers. And even should the Choctaws consent to sell the hunting grounds of their fathers and to go to strange hunting grounds, the time would come, when the white man would want to get hold of their new hunting grounds, and to move the Choctaws once more. Our fathers and our children are buried in our present hunting grounds, and the graves of their fathers are dear to the hearts of the Choctaws; we love our hunting ground more than the white man loves his country, and we do not want to be driven away from them. Any chief, who may sign a treaty selling our lands is a traitor, and should suffer death. I go home to prepare to fight for our homes and the graves of our fathers.

At this stage of the proceedings John H. Eaton rose and said, with brutal bluntness, that the Choctaws had no choice in the matter, but were bound to sell their lands and remove to the other side of the Mississippi river. If they refused to enter into a treaty to this tenor and effect, the President, in twenty days, would march an army into their country—build forts in all parts of their hunting grounds, extend the authority and laws of the United States over the Choctaw territory, and appoint United States judges to try the Chocaws by the laws of the United States. Sheriffs and constables would also be appointed and sent among them. The soldiers would support and defend the

¹⁰ This was *Hopai Iskitini*, who lived two miles in a southern direction from Narketa, Kemper Co., Miss., on the south side of Sukanatcha, and a quarter of a mile away. He died about 1847, and is buried at his home place. See *Transactions, supra*, p. 117.

constables, sheriffs and judges that would be sent among the Choctaws to maintain and enforce the laws of the United States. Should the Choctaws go to war with the United States it would be just as foolish as it would be for a baby to expect to overcome a giant. The result of the Choctaws making war on the United States would be the ruin of the tribe—their lands would be seized on as the property of an enemy and the Choctaws would be forcibly removed across the Mississippi.

Gen. Coffee magnanimously rose to his feet, and declared his strong disapprobation of the course adopted by his brother commissioner in the matter, and avowed he would have no hand in that sort of proceeding.

The Indians were indignant and resentful, and left the ground and started for their several homes in large numbers. Mr. Eaton prevailed on the principal chiefs and a few inferior chiefs to remain and talk the matter over with him, and they complied with his request. After all the other Indians had dispersed and started for their homes, Eaton held a private or secret conference with the chiefs who, at his request, had remained, and by some means prevailed on them to sign the Dancing Rabbit Creek treaty. No doubt he accomplished this result by threats and intimidation, mingled with the promise of sugar coating the obnoxious treaty by embracing in it a clause allowing the chiefs a specified number of acres of land, proportioned to their rank; and the private male Indians, who were heads of families a specified number of acres, all the lands to be selected by each individual Indian.

The Indians were in resentful and indignant mood and ready to take fire at any chance spark falling among them. Little Leader was openly getting up a band of Indians to resist the enforcement of the obnoxious treaty brought about by questionable and reprehensible means.¹¹ The commissioners appealed to Col. Gaines to act as a pacificator on this occasion. He was appointed to conduct and superintend the removal of the Indians

¹¹ The picture here presented of the excited condition of the Indian mind is probably not overdrawn. Mr. Lewis, in his *History of Winston County*, says:

"After [the making of] the treaty, the disaffected Indians made an attempt to get drunk for the purpose of mobbing Eaton and Coffee, who made the treaty with them; and they only desisted from their design upon Gaines' promising that he would accompany the Choctaw Commissioners [Delegation] to examine the country west of Arkansas."

to their new territory. He was also appointed to go with a delegation of Choctaws across the Mississippi, in order to select the new settlement of the Choctaw tribe. Col. Gaines enjoyed the confidence and respect of all the Choctaws, most of whom he knew personally. He went among them, and succeeded in persuading them to abide by the treaty, telling them, he had been appointed to go with a body of Choctaws across the Mississippi to select and locate the new hunting grounds of the tribe, and that their new territory would be as good, if not better, than their old hunting grounds. He also told them he had been appointed by the commissioners to conduct and superintend the removal of the Choctaws across the Mississippi to their new hunting grounds, and that the government had agreed to furnish wagons enough to haul the aged and infirm and the women and children. Col. Gaines soon extinguished the war spirit among the Indians, and reconciled their minds to the removal.

Little Leader found himself without followers, but he scornfully refused to remove and lived and died in Mississippi.

Col. Gaines went with a body of Choctaws and selected the territory now occupied west of the Mississippi by the Choctaw tribe.¹²

When the first Choctaw emigration across the Mississippi took place they offered to elect Mr. Gaines head chief of their tribe if he would consent to go permanently with them to their new hunting grounds. He declined on account of his wife and children, whom he was unwilling to banish from civilized society and subject them to a residence among the Indians.

He was appointed to conduct and superintend this removal of the first body of Choctaws to their new hunting grounds, but he informed me that the government had so shamefully broken its promises in reference to providing wagons to transport old and

¹²Being appointed to conduct the Choctaw exploring delegation composed of 12 or 15 noted Choctaws, among these mingo Nettakechi, the whole party well mounted, proceeded at once in the early fall, from the Coosha towns, in the northern part of Lauderdale Co., Miss., in the vicinity of old Daleville, across the county to the residence of Col. Ledore on the Yazoo—thence across the Miss. River to Arkansas Post, Little Rock, and Fort Smith to the new country. Col. Arbuckle at Fort Smith was instructed to furnish them with supplies for this exploration. A thorough exploration was made. Upon the return of the delegation in February, they made such a favorable report, that a great many Choctaws became reconciled to the emigration. No official report of this expedition has been found. Accounts of it rest on the authority of statements furnished Mr. A. J. Pickett; and to Mr. W. T. Lewis, who has some account of it in his *History of Winston County*.

decrepit Indians and the women and children, and that he had witnessed so much hardship and suffering among the Indians whom he had removed that he resigned his position of director of the removal of the Choctaws.

He stated that they contracted with him to provide provisions sufficient to subsist 2,500 persons for a week at the treaty site on Dancing Rabbit Creek, and that he had transported an ample supply of provisions to the selected spot, but as the Indians left on the evening of the first day of the conference, and returned to their homes, the United States government had paid him for but one day's provisions, and left the other six days' provisions on his hands, thereby entailing on him a considerable loss of money.

Maj. John C. Whitsett then living in Green County, Ala., was present at the Dancing Rabbit treaty, and saw and heard all that was either said, or done, on that occasion. In frequent conversations with this writer he confirmed, in every particular the truth of the statement made by George S. Gaines to me. Maj. Whitsett removed to Gainesville, Ala., in 1832, and lived there till his death in 1860. He was repeatedly elected to the Legislature from Sumter County. He was a conscientious, truthful and honorable man in all his conduct and dealings, and enjoyed and deserved the confidence and respect of all who knew him.

Here are two unimpeachable witnesses as to what was said and done at the making of the Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty. Nor is their testimony hearsay, or second hand. They saw and heard all that was said and done and are competent witnesses. They are unimpeachable witnesses.¹³

Gainesville, Ala., was named for George S. Gaines, but the towns of the same name in other States were obviously named for his brother, Gen. E. P. Gaines, commander-in-chief of the United States Army.

¹³ The treaty was printed shortly after ratification, as House Executive Document No. 123, accompanying a *Message*, March 2, 1831, by President Andrew Jackson (8 vo. pp. 20).

The most accessible copy is to be found in the United States *Statutes at Large*, vol. vii, pp. 333-341. The Indian names are appended.

Copies are found also in *Treaties between the U. S. and Indian Tribes, 1778 to 1837* (1837); Hutchinson's *Code of Miss.* (1848), pp. 121-128; *Mississippi Revised Code* (1857), pp. 702-722; and Sprott and Smith's *Special Laws of Sumter County, Ala.* (1890).

Out of this treaty has grown controversies lasting until the present time. The public documents are filled with petitions, reports, remonstrances, etc. See the Index to Ben: Perley Poore's *Descriptive Catalogue of Government Publications* (1885), under the titles "Indian Affairs," and "Indian Tribes," sub-title, "Choctaws."

IX. A GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE ALABAMA TERRITORY.

BY JUSTUS WYMAN.

INTRODUCTORY NOTES BY WILLIAM R. CUTTER AND ARTHUR G. LORING.¹

The Manuscript.

The anonymous production entitled, "A Geographical Sketch of the Alabama Territory," is written upon sheets of blank writing paper made into a book of 46 pages, 6¼x3½, covered with brown paper in such a way that a double cover of brown paper is afforded for its protection. It is document 139 in box 2, of the (Nathan) Wyman Collection of MSS., deposited in the Woburn Public Library, not far from twenty years ago by Nathan Wyman, a local collector. The precise manner in which Mr. Nathan Wyman came into possession of the original is not known. It was probably gathered in with the large number of papers belonging to Benjamin Wyman, the father of Justus, which Mr. Nathan Wyman secured in his search for such things. But, however that may be, it is certainly now in good hands, and with its dissemination in print will be still better preserved for the benefit of future generations of readers, especially among those who are familiar with the locality which it describes.

Justus Wyman.

Justus Wyman, the author of this sketch of Alabama, was born in Woburn, Mass., Sept. 16, 1800, where his birthplace is still standing, on Wyman street,—an old house built in 1759. He was the son of Benjamin and Hannah (Boynton) Wyman, and his father, when Justus was born, held the office of a captain of cavalry in the State militia; he was afterwards a major and a deacon, and until his death, in 1836, held an influential place in the esteem of his fellow citizens. The father was also a magis-

¹Associates in local historical and genealogical study and writing, Woburn, Massachusetts. These gentlemen have without charge furnished this copy of Mr. Wyman's sketch for publication. The copy is literal, all eccentricities of spelling and punctuation being preserved.

trate, and as a justice of the peace held court in the house already mentioned, and many papers, the file of his court cases, yet remain and are preserved in the Woburn Public Library.

Benjamin, the father of Justus, was the son of another Benjamin Wyman, who built the house where Justus was born, and who died in 1774, about forty days after the death of *his* father, whose death also occurred in that year.

Captain Benjamin Wyman, the great-grandfather of Justus, left, for the times, a large estate, amounting to £2240:00:7. Besides much real estate, he owned a chair or chaise, which he kept in a house for that purpose, and he had a large quantity of wearing apparel, viz., 3 beaver hats, a wig, a blue Roqueloo or Roquelau— a cloak for men, and coats galore. There were blue coats, a blue great coat, a blue strait coat, a light-colored coat, a black coat, a serge coat; jackets of black velvet, and fustian jackets, a bird's-eye jacket, a garlic jacket; breeches of different colors in cloth and leather, and hose, caps, shoes, boots, silver buckles, mittens, and gloves, leggins, and cotton shirts and fine shirts. The great-grandfather was also well supplied with books, spoons, plates of Delft ware, and also glass ware, and a great number of other articles. How many of these things may have been carried by the great-grandson to Alabama, "this deponent saith not."

Capt. Benjamin Wyman, who died in 1774, was the son of another Benjamin Wyman, whose estate was settled in 1737, another well-to-do-citizen, who was the son of Francis Wyman, one of the first settlers of Woburn, who was the son of Francis Wyman, of West Mill, in England. All of these Wymans from Francis of Woburn (will dated 1698) occupied the same dwelling-house and an adjacent dwelling-house to the birth of Justus, one hundred years ago.

The following pedigree² of Justus Wyman has been copied to make the foregoing facts more clear:

Ancestry of Justus Wyman.

(1) Francis and Elizabeth (*Richardson*) Wyman, of West Mill, Herts County, England; their son

²Consult for further detail, the "Wyman Family" reprinted from the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register*, 1849; T. B. Wyman's *Genealogy of the Wyman Family* (1880, 8 vo. pp. 22); Horace Wyman's *Account of the Wyman Genealogy and Wyman Families in Herts county, Eng.* (1897, 8 vo. pp. 39, views).

(2) Francis Wyman, bapt. May 2, 1617, at West Mill, emigrated to Woburn, Mass., and by his 2d wife, Abigail Reed, had*

(3) Benjamin Wyman, b. in Woburn, Mass., Aug. 25, 1674, d. 1735, who married Elizabeth Hancock, and had

(4) Capt. Benjamin Wyman, b. in Woburn, 1706, d. 1774, who married Esther Richardson, and had

(5) Benjamin Wyman, b. in Woburn, Jan. 1, 1740, d. 1774, who married Elizabeth Swain, and had

(6) Dea. Benjamin Wyman, b. in Woburn, Aug. 8, 1767, d. 1836, who married (2d) Hannah Boynton, and had

(7) Justus Wyman, *supra*, b. in Woburn, Sept. 16, 1800.

Dr. William S. Wyman's Statement.

The "Geographical Sketch of the Alabama Territory" in MS. now in the possession of the Woburn Public Library [in the city of Woburn, Mass.] was probably written by Justus Wyman of Fort Claiborne. Mr. Wyman (born Woburn Sept. 16, 1800) was in Alabama Territory in 1819 when the *Sketch* was written, a merchant's clerk in the town of Fort Claiborne, Alabama Territory. I reach the conclusion that the Manuscript was prepared and written by Justus Wyman—from internal evidence and from the handwriting.

W. S. WYMAN,
Univ. of Ala., Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Woburn, Sept. 24, 1896.

P. S.—The writer of this note (W. S. W.) is a son of the above-mentioned Justus Wyman—son of Deacon Benj. W. and Hannah (Boynton) Wyman—son of Capt. Benj. Wyman.

A GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE ALABAMA
TERRITORY.

AREA, BOUNDARIES, COUNTIES AND POPULATION.³

The Alabama Territory lies between 30° 12' and 35° N. lat. Its greatest length from Dauphin Island to the southern line of Tennessee, is 330 miles; its greatest breadth about 150; the whole extending over 45,500 square miles,⁴ or 29,120,000 acres.

It is bounded on the east by the State of Georgia, west by the

³This and the following sub-heads are inserted by the editor.

⁴The exact area is 52,250 square miles—land surface 51,540, and water, 710.—Berney's *Hand Book of Ala.* (1892), p. 60.

Mississippi territory, north by Tennessee, and south by a part of East [West] Florida and the Gulf of Mexico.

The Alabama is divided into 12 ^(a) counties, which with their chief towns, stand as follows, viz:

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Chief towns.</i>
Madison,	Huntsville.
Elk, ⁵	
Blount,	
Shelby,	
Clarke,	Jackson.
Washington,	St. Stephens.
Baldwin,	
Jackson, ⁶	
Mobile,	Mobile.
Montgomery,	Ft. Jackson.
Monroe,	Ft. Claiborne.
Dallas,	Cahaba.

The number of inhabitants at the census of Sept., 1818, was rising of 60,000 including slaves and free people of color. Since that time they may be supposed to have increased at least one-fourth.⁷

TOPOGRAPHY, SOIL AND PRODUCTIONS.

The face of the country is generally level. Some parts of it, however, are broken by ridges, but it is nowhere mountainous.⁸ It is, generally speaking, more even than the New England States.

The Alabama possesses a very great diversity of soil, climate, and natural and vegetable productions.⁹ The river and creek

⁵No County in Alabama ever bore this name, although it was generally supposed about 1817, that a County of this designation would be created West of Madison. Darby's *Louisiana* (1817), p. 321, makes this error, as does also Niles *Register*, 1818.

⁶This Jackson is a Mississippi County, West of Mobile.

⁷In April, 1819, the *Alabama Republican* estimated the population as in excess of 100,000.

⁸This statement will not of course be taken as accurate, the Northern part of the State being in fact quite broken and hilly.

⁹*Alabama Republican*, Dec. 4, 1819, reprints the following from the *Cahaba Press*:

"The season (near Cahaba, in Dallas Co.,) in this county has been remarkably productive in cotton, corn, vegetables, and everything attempted to be cultivated. We are disposed to mention the following for

lands, which are by far the best; are capable of producing from 50 to 100 bushels of Indian corn, or 1,300 to 1,400 weight of seed cotton to the acre. The lands between, are mostly of an inferior quality; but with the industry of the New England farmers, might be made to produce good crops of corn, wheat, and other English grain, and in some places cotton. Vegetables of all kinds can be cultivated to the greatest perfection. The cultivation of the sugar cane has not yet been attended to in this country. There is little doubt, however, but the climate and soil here, are as congenial to the culture of that plant, as in any part of the world, and that it may be cultivated to as great perfection.

Of all the varieties of soil of which the Alabama is possessed, the cane bottom is unquestionably the best, and the pine, the poorest.

Darby, in his emigrants' guide,¹⁰ says, that "the river cane bottom land, we suppose to be equal in fertility to any on the continent, and may average in width a half, or three-quarters of a mile, the river winding through it in a serpentine course, and leaving the cane sometimes on this side, and sometimes on that." The pine covers more than one half of the country. The soil upon which it grows, has by many, been considered barren, and unfit for cultivation. It is evident, however, from several circumstances, that this idea is erroneous. In the pine forests, the earth is everywhere covered with grass and flowering vegetables, which grow spontaneously, and which afford excellent and abundant range for cattle. In travelling the country, you frequently see large plantations, and sometimes considerable settlements in the midst of these forests, where cotton, corn, and vegetables thrive remarkably well. The purity of the air and water in these pine tracts, renders them by far the most healthy part of the country; so that "if the inhabitant earns his bread with the sweat of his brow, he can eat and digest it with a vigorous stomach." Between these two extremes, the land is of various qualities. On the margins of the creeks are found strips of good land, from

the information of our Northern brethren, although it is nothing remarkable here. A gentleman (bred in Leicester, Mass.) came into this country about the beginning of the present year—selected a tract of land—built his cabins, etc.—cleared and fenced the land—and with only five hands, (blacks) made a crop of corn of upwards of 2,000 bushels, besides other articles, and has it all nearly completely housed."

¹⁰ This book was published in 1818 (8 vo. pp. 311), and contains many interesting facts relating to Alabama Territory.

a quarter to a half mile wide. In many places it is very rich, being but little, if any, inferior to the cane bottom. In the upper parts of the territory, there are large bodies of limestone land, which are extremely fertile. The prairies are likewise considered very productive. "These," says Darby, "are wide spreading plains, of a level, or gently waving land, without timber, clothed in grass, herbage, and flowers, insulated by narrow skirts of rich interval woodland; and exhibiting, in the month of May, the most enchanting scenery imaginable."¹¹ The soil is generally of a fine black rich cast, and has the appearance of great fertility. "Should they prove," continues he, "to be as productive as the soil promises, they will be of great value, as the expense and labor of clearing land will here be saved; and the soil being of such a quality as will not wash away, the land must be very durable."

TIMBER.

Perhaps no part of the continent is better supplied with timber¹² of every kind, than the Alabama. Pine, cypress, oak of various kinds, magnolia, gum, maple, beach, ash, red cedar, sassafras, hickory, &c., are amongst the number of trees, with which the forest of the Alabama abounds. The "noble majestic" live oak, and the beautiful lauril (*sic*) magnolia, are both natives, of this country; the former growing near the sea only, the latter near the banks of rivers, and on rich spots of land; in every part of the territory. They are both evergreen.

The cypress grows to an enormous size in this country. I think I have seen some whose trunks three feet from the ground, would measure eight or ten feet diameter. They are frequently more than one foot in diameter, 100 feet from the ground.

The pine of this country is different from that of the New England States. Its leaf is from four to six inches in length. The trunk is tall and holds its bigness to a great height. It is no uncommon thing to see pines from 60 to 80, and in some instances, even to 100 feet without a limb, and perfectly straight. The wood is of a yellowish cast, and makes excellent fuel.

¹¹Accounts given by aged pioneers confirm this description in every detail.

¹²Consult Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama* (1897), pp. 1074-1077, for list of the published work of Dr. Charles Mohr, of Mobile. The writings of this distinguished botanist embrace the entire field of Alabama forestry.

RIVERS.

This country is watered by some of the finest rivers in the United States, among which the Alabama, and Tombigbee, (called also the Tombeckbee) are the principle.

The Alabama¹³ commences at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers, and runs nearly a southwest course to its junction with the Tombigbee. In its course thither, it makes several remarkable bends. It is navigable for schooners to Fort Claiborne, and for barges of 300 bbls. to Fort Jackson at the mouth of the Coosa and Talapoosa. About 100 miles from its head, it receives the waters of the Cahaba, a small but beautiful stream.

The Tombigbee, (or Tombeckbee), is likewise a noble river. It rises¹⁴ in the upper part of the territory, and runs a southerly course to its junction with the Alabama, receiving in its course, the waters of the Black Warrior and several other smaller streams. It is navigable for schooners to Fort St. Stephens (*sic*), and for barges almost to its source.

The two rivers unite near Fort Stoddard,¹⁵ and run a southerly course for 12 or 15 miles. They then lose their names, and branch off into the Tensaw, and Mobile, both of which are noble rivers, emptying into Mobile Bay one at Mobile, the other about six miles below Blakeley.

The Cahaba¹⁶ is a small river, and navigable for barges, to the falls of the same name 60 miles from its mouth.

The Coosa and Tallapoosa, are both fine rivers. The former is navigable for barges up to Wetumpkee,¹⁷ or the Great Shoals; the latter to the Great Falls, a few miles above Tookabatche,¹⁸ in the State of Georgia.^(b)

The Black Warrior, (called by the Indians Tuskaloosa,)¹⁹ is navigable for barges of 400 barrels, to the falls of the same name, 80 miles from its mouth.

¹³ Howell Tatum's Survey of this river, in 1814, is given in full in *Trans. Ala. Hist. Society*, 1897-98, pp. 130-177.

¹⁴ It rises in Mississippi. See origin of this word in Mr. Halbert's paper on "Choctaw Indian Names," *supra*.

¹⁵ For sketch see *Trans. Ala. Hist. Society*, 1897-98, p. 171 n.

¹⁶ See *Ibid*, p. 168.

¹⁷ Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 238.

¹⁸ Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. i, pp. 83-4.

¹⁹ See origin of this word in Mr. Halbert's paper on Choctaw Names, *supra*.

There are several other streams of less note, most of which empty into the Alabama, and Tombigbee Rivers.

The Tennessee River, waters the upper part of the territory. It enters from Georgia at the northeast part, and crosses the territory, nearly in the form of a quarter of a circle, leaving it at the northwest corner.

QUALITY OF LANDS.

The lands that have been surveyed on these rivers, generally speaking, are equal in fertility, to any on the continent. There are large bodies, however, which have not yet been surveyed, and of which little is known; but if we may judge from the quality of those already surveyed, we may safely conclude, that, in point of fertility, and health, these last are in no wise inferior to the other.

CLIMATE AND HEALTH.

The climate is various. Almost the whole of the upper, and the high lands in the lower parts of the territory, are considered healthy; but the low lands, particularly about the head of Mobile Bay, are very unhealthy during the summer months. The climate, however, the remaining months, is healthy and delightful. The natural causes of this unhealthfulness must always exist; but the vegetable causes will gradually be removed. The fogs arising from the rivers, and exhalations from the swamps and low lands, together with the quantities of stagnant water always to be found in these swamps, will ever be prevailing causes of sickness. But as the country increases in population, the vast quantities of old logs and other vegetable substance which now lays consuming, and which, in a manner corrupts the air, and renders it putrid, will be destroyed. This, however, will be a work of several years.

The prevailing mortal diseases²⁰ are epidemics, and bilious complaints. Families residing in the low lands, and near the rivers are subject to the fever and ague, and other intermittent fevers, occasioned probably, by their being more exposed to the natural causes of unhealthiness, than those on higher lands.

²⁰For an account of the diseases of this period, treatment, medical men, etc., see Dr. Jerome Cochran's "Medical Profession" in the *Memorial Record of Ala.* (1893), p. 107, *et seq.* For special topics see Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama* under the names—S. Ames, W. H. Anderson, J. Y. Bassett, W. M. Bolling, Daniel Drake, J. W. Heustis, P. H. Lewis, and Medical Association.

TOWNS.

Most of the towns have been begun in the Alabama, are yet in their infancy, but are advancing with hasty strides. Among these Mobile, Blakely, Fort St. Stephens, Fort Claiborne and Cahaba are the principal.

Mobile,²¹ which is the oldest town in the Alabama, and amongst the first settled by the French in the Louisiana territory, stands on the west side of the bay of the same name, in lat. 30° 40' north. The site is dry and commanding; but the approach of the harbor is difficult and circuitous (*sic*). The only access for vessels drawing more than eight feet of water is by way of Spanish River, which branches off from the Mobile, about five miles above the town.

This town was first settled by the French, in the year [1711]; since which it has progressed but slowly until towards the close of the year 1816. Since that time, it has increased rapidly in wealth and population, and will unquestionably continue to do so.²² There are, however, some very serious impediments, which will greatly retard its growth; the most effectual of which is, the rise of a rival town in a more convenient situation for commercial transaction. The whole number of inhabitants at the present time (March, 1819,) may be estimated at nearly 2,000. The county in its rear, is unsettled pine woods. There are no extensive settlements nearer than Washington and Baldwin Counties above 31° of N. lat.

Blakeley²³ stands on the east side of Mobile Bay, in lat. 30° 43' north. It is situated on the east bank of the Tensaw River, about six miles from its mouth. The approach of the harbor for vessels of any draught that can come up the bay, is perfectly safe and easy.

The Tensaw here branches, and forms a capacious bay on which the town stands.

When viewed from the harbor, Blakeley presents one of the most romantic and beautiful prospects imaginable.

This town has decidedly the advantage of Mobile in many

²¹Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile* (1897) presents the full history of this town in a masterly way, from the earliest period to 1821.

²²In the *National Intelligencer*, May 7, 1818, John Peabody advertises that about May 15, 1818, the "Staunch Brig Hunter," Capt. Grimalds, a regular trader, will sail from Georgetown, D. C., to Mobile and New Orleans.

²³See "Additional Editorial Notes," appended hereto.

respects, one of which, is that the same wind that enables a vessel to enter Mobile Bay, will carry her to the wharfs of Blakeley, which is not the case with Mobile; another is an open road to the rapidly improving country on the Alabama River.

The first settlement commenced in this town, in the autumn of 1817. There are now between 60 and 70 houses, many of which would ornament almost any town in the Northern States. The whole amount of property shipped to this place from different parts of the United States, since the first of Sept. 1817, is estimated at nearly \$1,000,000. There is at present a vigorous rivalry between this place and Mobile; but the superiority of the position of Blakely and its commercial advantages, will without doubt be decisive in its favor.

One very serious impediment to the growth of both these towns is their unhealthy situations.²⁴ The marshes at the head of Mobile Bay, and which lie directly between the two towns, are continually sending forth poisonous vapours, which stagnates the air, and subjects the inhabitants to bilious and chronic diseases. The sickness commences in its severity about the 1st of July, and continues until the last of September. It is presumed that not more than two-thirds of the emigrants from the Atlantic States who attempt to stay in either of these places through the unhealthy months, live; and not more than one-tenth escape the sickness.

Fort St. Stephens²⁵ has until lately been the principal town in the territory, and the seat of the territorial government.

It stands on the west side of the Tombigbee River, in lat. 30° 33', N., about 130 miles by water from Blakely. It is at the head of schooner navigation on that river. It has had a very rapid growth, and is a place of considerable commercial importance. Its situation not being considered quite so congenial to health as some other places, has somewhat retarded its growth; and it is thought to be at the extent of its greatness. Being situated in the centre of schooner and barge navigation, on the Tombigbee, however, it must always be a place of considerable consequence.

²⁴See "Additional Editorial Notes," appended hereto.

²⁵See Proceedings of Spanish Evacuation Centennial, *infra*, for papers descriptive of this town and surrounding country. Brown's *Western Gazetteer* (1817), p. 237, says:

"It contains about 250 houses, a printing office, academy, and fifteen stores; and is a thriving healthy place, advantageously situated for trade."

Fort Claiborne²⁶ is situated at the head of schooner navigation on the Alabama River, about 130 miles from Blakely by water, and 80 by land.

The town stands on a high bluff of land called the Alabama Heights, about 180 feet above the level of the river.^(c) The first settlement commenced in this town towards the close of the year 1816; since that time it has increased with a rapidity scarcely paralleled. The whole number of inhabitants which one year ago did not exceed 800, is now rising of 2,000. In point of health and commercial advantages, Ft. Claiborne, as an inland town, stands unrivaled, and little doubt can be entertained of its being eventually one of the first commercial and political places in the territory. There is a claim laid upon the site of this town, by Wetherford,²⁷ a half-breed Indian, which has prevented settlers from making any permanent or expensive establishments. The houses are merely of a temporary nature, built of logs, and put up for present use only. It is generally believed that this claim is valid, and that he will recover the place. Should this be the case, government will probably purchase it of him, as he will not hold in fee simple, but by a special act of Congress, will be permitted to sell to government, and to no one else. If he should recover the claim, and government should not make the purchase, the settlement will probably be broken up, which will be a very serious injury to the country.

Cahaba,²⁸ at the mouth of the river of the same name, is now the seat of the territorial government. It is distant from Blakely by water about 280 miles; by land about 160. It is a new settlement, and will no doubt, in a short time, be a place of considerable importance.

Florida,²⁹ Jackson,³⁰ Tuscaloosa, Huntsville, New Philadel-

²⁶ See *Trans. Ala. Hist. Society*, 1897-98, pp. 158-9, and notes.

²⁷ John Weatherford.—See *Trans. Ala. Hist. Society*, 1897-98, pp. 159-60, 165.

²⁸ Cahaba was made the Territorial capital by Act of the Legislature, Nov. 16, 1818, and on the admission of the State remained as such until 1826. It was the County seat of Dallas from 1818 until 1866. It is now abandoned and in ruins. See Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. ii, p. 401; Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 208; and Toulmin's *Laws of Alabama* (1823), pp. 814 *et seq.* See also Dr. Jesse Hawes' *Cahaba, a story of Captive Boys in Blue* (1888), Chapter I.

²⁹ Florida has not been located as an Alabama town.

³⁰ See "Additional Editorial Notes," appended hereto.

phia,³¹ Fort Jackson,³² Falls of the Cahaba³³, Jones' Valley,³⁴ and Canton,³⁵ are all growing places, and will in time be places of consequence.

RELIGION.

In respect to religion, society, &c., much cannot be said in their favor; it can only be observed that they are both very bad, although somewhat better than they were a year ago.³⁶

Vice of almost every kind prevails to an alarming degree. This, however, is the case in every new country where the sound of the gospel has hardly been heard. It is difficult to determine, amongst the many different religious persuasions that exist in this country, which is the prevailing. It is presumed, however, that the Methodists are the most numerous of any one sect. The first, and only church of Christ of any denomination, was formed on the 14th of February, 1819, in Fort Claiborne.³⁷ It is of the Presbyterian order, and consists of about twenty members. There are only 4 regularly educated ministers

³¹New Philadelphia is a part of the present city of Montgomery. See Blue's *History of Montgomery* (1878).

³²For sketch of Fort Jackson see *Trans. Ala. Hist. Society*, 1897-98, p. 132, note.

³³Centreville, Bibb County, is located at the Falls of the Cahaba.

³⁴Jones' Valley was never a town, although there was a Jonseborough in this valley, both named for the first settler. It was and is the name of a long and beautiful anti-clinal valley extending through Jefferson County. See note to "Richard Breckenridge's Diary, 1816," *infra*.

³⁵Canton was on the river in Wilcox County, and was for a time the County seat. It is now in decay.

³⁶The religious conditions here depicted are doubtless based either on lack of observation, or inaccurate information, as can be seen by consulting the historians of protestant denominational effort in the State. At this date there were a very large proportionate number of Baptists and Methodists in the Territory, with many Presbyterians, Cumberland Presbyterians, and Episcopalians. The Catholics were in and around Mobile. In 1819 there were scattered over the Territory at least fifty clergy of these several churches, each a "lawful minister," and in denominational good standing. On Aug. 3, 1819, the Madison County Bible Society appropriately celebrated its first anniversary. A successful year was reported.

See Riley's *Baptists of Alabama* (1895); West's *Methodism in Alabama* (1893); Holcombe's *Baptists in Alabama* (1840); Nall's *Dead of the Synod of Alabama* (1851); Burgett's *Presbyterian Church in Alabama* (1897); McDonnold's *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church* (1888), pp. 155-163; Whitaker's *History of the Church in Alabama* (1898); and *Trans. Ala. Hist. Society*, 1897-98, vol. ii, pp. 83-89. See also Shea's *Catholic Church within the U. S.* (1886-92); and Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile* (1897).

³⁷The first Presbyterian Church organized in the Territory was at Huntsville, June 15, 1818. See Burgett, *supra*.

of any denomination in the territory, and only three of these that preach steadily.³⁸ These are all of the Presbyterian order.

Besides these, there are a few Methodist and Baptist missionaries, who preach occasionally in different parts of the territory; but they are, generally speaking, very illiterate men.

That a population of nearly 100,000 souls should perish for lack of vision, is truly lamentable, and must excite feelings of compassion in the breast of every pious child of God.

EXPORTS.

The principle article of exportation at present is cotton.³⁹ The exact number of bales exported from the Alabama during the year ending March 31st, 1819, is not exactly known, but may, at a moderate calculation, be estimated at 5,000. This calculation will, it is presumed, fall short of the real number. The amount of importations the same year may be estimated at \$2,000,000. The other articles of exportation are hogshhead-staves, hides, lumber, beeswax, tallow, furs, &c.

MANUFACTURES.³⁹

There are very few manufacturies of any kind in the territory. The inhabitants depend almost entirely on the Atlantic States for their manufactured articles.

NEWSPAPERS,³⁹ BANKS AND SCHOOLS.

There are five printing offices,⁴⁰ from which newspapers are issued, already established, viz: two at Mobile, one at Blakely, one at St. Stephens, and one at Ft. Claiborne; and one about to be established at Cahaba. There are likewise three Banks⁴¹

³⁸ These were probably Revs. Neil McMillan, Lucas Kennedy, Hiland Hulburt and James L. Sloss. The former was the first Presbyterian minister to settle in Alabama. The last named, Rev. Mr. Sloss, probably did not "preach steadily," as he was this year engaged in teaching as "rector" of the Jackson Academy. Other ministers of this denomination in the territory prior to 1820 were Revs. Francis H. Porter, J. W. Platt, Gideon Blackburn, Joseph P. Cunningham, Salmon Cowles and James B. Stafford. See Nall and Burgett, cited *supra*.

³⁹ See "Additional Editorial Notes," appended hereto.

⁴⁰ These were the *Blakeley Sun*, the *St. Stephens Halcyon*, the *Alabama Courier*, at Claiborne, the *Mobile Gazette*. The second paper mentioned as printed at Mobile has not been ascertained.

⁴¹ The dates of incorporation are as follows: Planters' and Merchants'

in operation, viz: the Planters' and Merchants' Bank, at Huntsville, the Tombeckbee Bank, at St. Stephens, and the Mobile Bank, at Mobile.⁴¹ There are also private schools⁴² established in all the principle towns in the territory, where all the different branches of literature are taught.

FISH AND GAME.

The rivers are well stored with plenty of excellent fish, such as sheeps' head, cat fish, drum fish, buffaloe, mullet, trout, pike, perch, &c., and the forests with plenty of game, among which are deers, bears, wolves, foxes, squirrels of several species, otters, opossums, pole cats, and wild turkeys, pigeons, doves, parrots, quails or partridges, &c., nearly all of which may be taken with very little exertion, and which affords excellent amusement for sportsmen. In the lakes and ponds are to be found plenty of ducks and other water fowl.

The alligator or American crocodile inhabits the rivers and lakes of the Alabama.

For a description of this reptile, see Morse's Universal Geography.

CHARACTER OF INHABITANTS.

The inhabitants of the Alabama Territory are made up mostly of emigrants from all the States; consequently, many of the characteristic features of almost every State in the Union, are to be found here. The majority of the wealth and population at present existing in the Alabama, are from Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia;⁴³ consequently the manners, and

Bank, Dec. 11, 1816; The Tombeckbee Bank, Feb. 13, 1818; and The Bank of Mobile, Nov. 20, 1818.

See Toulmin's *Laws of Alabama* (1823), pp. 34 *et seq.*; and Clark's "Finance and Banking" in *Memorial Record of Alabama*, pp. 329-344.

In May, 1819, the Bank at Huntsville declared a dividend of 6½ per cent. on the original stock. The notice in the *Alabama Republican* of May 29, 1819, is signed by Eldred Rawlins, cashier.

⁴¹ See Note 9, to Miss Welsh's paper on St. Stephens, *infra*.

⁴² "The flood-gates of Virginia, the two Carolinas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Georgia, were now hoisted, and mighty streams of emigration poured through them, spreading over the whole territory of Alabama. The axe resounded from side to side, and from corner to corner. The stately and magnificent forests fell. Log cabins sprang as if by magic into sight. Never before or since has a country been so rapidly peopled."—Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. ii, p. 385.

customs, peculiar to those States are the prevailing characteristics here. Many of the first emigrants to this country were outlaws, who fled from the sword of justice and took up their abode with the savages of the wilderness.

Beyond the reach of civil authority, they felt themselves perfectly secure, and gave full scope to their vicious inclinations. Thus, by mingling with savages, they have imbibed savage principles, which they still retain. In some instances, these characters are worse than even savages themselves; and often commit murders and depredations which would excite the humanity of a savage, and which he would blush to own. These, together with the poor and dissipated, form a class of people called by way of reproach the rowdies. These rowdies, as they are called, are addicted to gambling, intemperance, profanity, fighting and, in fact, to every species of vice. The general character of the Alabamians, however, is not to be taken from this unprincipled set of men, who compose only a small part of the inhabitants of the territory. The wealthy, generally speaking, easy and affable in their manners, hospitable to strangers, strongly attached to friends, irritable in their disposition towards their enemies, &c. Some, however, even the most wealthy and influential men, are very great villians; and almost all are fond of ease and recreation.

The principle amusements are gambling, dancing, horse-racing,⁴⁴ cock-fighting, &c.

NOTES [BY MR. WYMAN.]

(a) The whole number of counties in the Alabama territory are 24,⁴⁵ 12 only of which were known to the author, at the time this short sketch was written. The other 12 are as follows; viz:

Limestone.
Tuskaloosa.
Lawrence.
Franklin.
Cotaca.

⁴⁴ For an amusing and realistic description of a horse race in 1819 on the Frog Level Race Ground, near old Elyton, Jefferson County, see Rev. Anson West's *Methodism in Alabama* (1893), pp. 152-53.

⁴⁵ As stated above, there was no Elk County, and Jackson was in Miss. There were only twenty-two Counties in the Territory when the Enabling Act was approved, March 2, 1819.

Cahaba.
Conecuh.
Marengo.
Marion.
Lauderdale.
St. Clair.
Autauga.

Several of these counties have been lately organized.

(b) The Coosa River is navigable for small barges, some miles above Wetumpka, to within about 30 miles of the Tennessee. Between these two rivers there is a land communication, by means of which, produce can be brought from the State of Tennessee down the Tennessee River, thence over land 30 miles to the Coosa, thence down the Coosa in small barges to its mouth, thence down the Alabama in large barges to Mobile or Blakely, with greater dispatch, and less expense than is necessary to carry the same produce down the Mississippi to New Orleans.

(c) The materials of which a considerable portion of this bluff is composed, has excited the astonishment of travellers, and may be considered a curiosity. Innumerable quantities of sea shells of different descriptions, some of which are of an enormous size, apparently thrown up by some violent convulsion of nature into heaps of 100 to 150 feet in height, and covered with different kinds of earth, making altogether a huge mass of stuff of 180 to 200 feet perpendicular height for nearly two miles in extent, the river running in a meandering course along its base. How, or when these shells were conveyed here, a distance of more than 100 miles from the ocean, is a mystery which time probably will never unfold.

(d) The Mobile Bank was intended to have been put in operation the first of January, 1818, and was supposed to be in operation at the time this sketch was written. But the author has since been informed, that, in consequence of the shares not being all subscribed for, as was at first anticipated, it has not yet gone into operation, and it is at present doubtful whether it ever will.

ADDITIONAL EDITORIAL NOTES.

In addition to the foot notes to the foregoing paper, the following are introduced at its conclusion, owing to their length and fullness.

TOWN OF BLAKELEY.

The *St. Stephens Halcyon*, Feb. 22, 1819, reprints the following highly colored account of the town of Blakeley:

"What a wonderful country is ours! How like enchantment towns and villages rise up! Blakely eighteen months ago was a wilderness of impenetrable woods, and inhabited by the ruthless savage,—but now by the hardy and undaunted American; nothing is now seen or heard but the din of business, and the stroke of the axe resounding through the distant woods—buildings raising their heads in almost every quarter of the town, and the constant arrival and departure of vessels, present a scene both interesting and beautiful to the contemplative mind and the man of business.

"We find no hesitation in saying that Blakeley will before many years, be the chief seaport town in the Alabama Territory, it being the easiest of access from the sea of any other; vessels drawing from ten to twelve feet of water can get over Dog River bar, (which runs from one side of Mobile Bay to the other,) and the same wind that brings them over the bar will bring them up the Tensaw to Blakely.

"We would recommend to the notice of the merchants of Blakely to have the channel staked out from the bar of the mouth of the Tensaw, which would make it easier for the mariner, the expense will be so trifling, and the object so important, that we hope it may speedily be done."—*Blakeley Sun*.

The history of Blakeley has never been written. Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. ii, contains a few general references only. Peter J. Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile* (1897) develops the subject more fully (*see* Index to his work); and his paper on "Some Southern Yankees" in the *American Historical Magazine*, Nashville, Oct., 1898, pp. 303-12 (reprinted in the *Mobile Register*, and in the *Floral Magazine*, Mobile) contains an excellent biographical sketch of Josiah Blakeley, the founder. *See also* Bernard Reynold's *Sketches of Mobile* (1868), pp. 10-11; E. T. Wood's *Mobile Directory and Register for 1844* (1844); the *Port Folio*, Phila., Oct., 1817, pp. 325-9; and Adam Hodgson's *Journey through North America* (1823), pp. 155-7; and for legislation affecting the town, *see* Toulmin's *Laws of Alabama* (1823). An account is given in the *Mobile Register*, Sept. 12, 1897.

TOWN OF JACKSON.

The earliest settlers in this vicinity doubtless arrived in the years immediately following the beginning of this century. The village was first called "Republicville," and later "the Pine Level." The promoters, whose names are contained in the resolution below, in order to bring their town lands to the notice of the Eastern public, placed an advertisement in the *National Intelligencer*, March 19, 1816, which states that public sale of lots will take place in the town in May following. It states that the place is surrounded by fertile lands, good timber, has fine springs of water, and is a healthy location. It is ninety to one hundred miles above Mobile, and will be a fine place for shipbuilding. In the selection of a name it is said that "The gratitude of this community immediately pointed to the hero of New Orleans, and propriety urged the idea, that the community ought to avail themselves of the first opportunity to express the most honorable of feelings."

The following original resolution, giving the date and act changing the name, has fortunately been preserved:

Resolutions.

"Jackson (alias Pine Level), 31st January, 1816. A board of Commissioners, to wit: P. F. Bayard, Benj. I. Bedell, David White, David Taylor and Reuben Saffold, having met for the purpose of making fur-

ther regulations for the government of the town purchased by the Pine Level Company, have ordained and established the following additional articles, to wit:

1st. Resolved, That the plan to which the names of the whole number of commissioners were this day subscribed to [be] and the same is hereby adopted. That the town thus planned and heretofore called Pine Level shall hereafter be called and known by the name of Jackson, and the Avenue Broadway and several streets be always known and called by the names assigned to each of them."

Doubtless an advertisement similar to that in the *Intelligencer* was inserted in the Georgia newspapers, as will appear from Messrs. Jones and Hightower's letter. Milledgeville was the capital of Georgia, and one of the points passed by emigrants to the Mississippi Territory. There on Aug. 4, 1817, began the sales of the lands in the vicinity of the present Montgomery. Abel Farrer, to whom this letter is addressed, was the Secretary of the Commissioners. The Treasurer was John G. Creagh.

Letter to A. Farrer.

"Milledgeville, Ga., March 14, 1816.

"Dear sir:

By the last mail we forward you a paper containing the address of the town of Jackson. We have exhibited for inspection the plan sent and those who have seen the plan are very much pleased with the elegant style in which it is laid off and if nothing prevents I calculate you will have a number of Georgians to visit your sales. After taking a full examination of the plan, and considering the many advantages that does, and will be derived from the settlement of your part of the country, we have concluded if a fair opening for a Printing Establishment would offer, we would move our office to your town, and endeavor to conduct a paper—Republican; of this we would be glad to get your advice, and beg that you would inform us of the population of the adjacent country. Your early attention to this will confer a favor on, Dear Sir, your most

Ob't Humble Servants,
Jones & Hightower."

A. Farrer, Esqr.
Town of Jackson."

The town was incorporated by the Mississippi Territorial Legislature, Nov. 27, 1816, with the following boundaries:

"By a line commencing on the east bank of said river [Tombigbee] at the mouth of Bassett's creek, running thence up said river to the mouth of a creek emptying into the river at Shield's ferry, thence up the main eastern fork of said creek to Philips' spring, thence across a ridge in a direct line to the school-house spring, about one mile and a half, in a direction nearly north from the centre of said town; thence down the branch of the last mentioned spring to where it empties into said Bassett's creek, thence with said creek to the place of beginning."—Turner's *Statutes of the Miss. Territory* (1816), p. 461-64; or *Acts*, 2nd Sess., 9th General Assembly, Miss. Territory, p. 19.

Of the town commissioners, Reuben Saffold, who located here from Georgia in 1813, became an eminent lawyer. Peregrene F. Bayard, an early merchant, an ardent Methodist, and a trustee of Jackson Academy, died here June 9, 1819. David Taylor, previously a merchant at Augusta, Ga., came here about 1812, and has descendants in Clarke County at this time. Of Messrs. Bedell and White, and the Secretary, Mr. Farrer, no facts are at hand. Mr. Creagh, the Treasurer, became a prominent lawyer. See Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. ii, p. 428; Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 178, 214; Ball's *Clarke County*, pp. 353-56; and Woodward's *Reminiscences*, p. 153.

HEALTH IN ALABAMA FOR 1819.

There was a violent epidemic of yellow fever in Mobile in the year 1819. The following reference is from the *Mobile Gazette* Oct. 27, 1819:

"The fever which raged so violently in this place some time since, has, we believe, almost, if not entirely subsided; very few deaths have occurred for the last 15 days; it is to be feared, however, should the weather remain warm, as it has been for the last three or four days, Mobile will still suffer.

"At a meeting of the citizens, held yesterday at the U. S. Hotel, Jacob Ludlow, David Rust, Henry Y. Chamberlain, Addin Lewis, Dr. Major, Edward Hall, and Philip McLoskey were appointed a committee to investigate the causes of the malignant and fatal fever which has visited our place."

But later the *Claiborne Courier* says that,

"It is with great concern we state, from more recent information, that the yellow fever has again made its appearance, with increased malignity, in the devoted town of Mobile. The inhabitants, who had returned to the town under the impression that this fatal disease, which had swept away so many valuable citizens, had subsided, are again removing to the country."—Copied by *Alabama Republican*, Nov. 27, 1819.

Blakeley escaped the terrible visitation this year. Consult Dr. J. M. Toner's *Natural History and Distribution of Yellow Fever in the U. S.* (1873).

The following valuable contemporary article sets forth, and apparently with perfect fairness, the health conditions of the Territory for the period under review.

"The general healthiness of our State is no less a subject, not only of congratulation, but of the most heartfelt gratitude to the Allwise Disposer of human events. While so large a portion of our common country has been grievously affected with pestilential diseases, and also visited with parching droughts that have greatly diminished the ordinary productions of the earth, we have happily been blessed with health, and the husbandman's hopes have been crowned with plenty. There is probably no section of the Union which has enjoyed such uninterrupted good health, and so frequent and seasonable showers of rain, during the late summer, as the great portion of the State of Alabama. But the pleasure and happiness diffused through our State for the health and prosperity of its citizens has not been without some little alloy. We have felt the most poignant sorrow for the dreadful afflictions which have been so severely visited upon the citizens of our seaport towns and an inconsiderable section of the adjoining country. The mortality in Mobile and Blakeley [the statement as to Blakeley was an error and was subsequently corrected by the *Republican*] during the late sickly season, has no doubt been unparalleled on the continent; but we are informed and believe the unexampled prevalence of malignant fever, particularly in the former place, is principally attributable to the ill regulated police of that town. The balance of the State, though recently settled by people of almost every part of the Union, has proved in the main to be healthy and salubrious. The diseases incident to a newly settled country, in which extensive openings are made, have not been found to exist here. Notwithstanding the distressing mortality on the Gulf shore, and notwithstanding the large quantities of newly cultivated lands, we believe there is no State in the Union in which there have been so few deaths in proportion to the number of inhabitants as in the State of Alabama. This circumstance affords to the people at large abundant cause of thanks and of gratitude to an overruling providence, who has seen proper to plunge into the deepest distress some of the fairest portions of the globe."—*Alabama Republican*, Huntsville, Nov. 27, 1819.

EARLY COTTON PRODUCTION IN ALABAMA.

Even at this early date cotton was the great article of culture in this country. Warden says in his *Account of the U. S.* (1819), vol. iii, p. 38 (Alabama), that the average produce was about 1,000 pounds in the seed per acre, one field hand being able to cultivate from six to eight acres. Madison County, about twenty-two miles square, produced ten thousand bales for the market in 1816, doubling the production of this crop in any other county of its size in the U. S.—*National Intelligencer*, Jan. 14, 1817. Mr. James O. Crump, who had traversed the country from Huntsville to Mobile, represents the cotton of the Tombigbee, Cahaba and Alabama to be of most extraordinary size and luxuriance: "I cannot describe the cotton fields unless I compare them to a neglected peach orchard with branches projecting from bottom to top, with a stem about the size of a man's wrist, from eight to ten, eleven and twelve feet high."—Brown's *Western Gazetteer* (1817), p. 240.

The following are the early Mobile cotton receipts as taken from a sketch in the *Planters' Almanac* for 1844: For 1818, 7,000 bales; 1819, 10,000 bales; 1820, 16,000 bales; 1821, 25,390 bales; and 1822, 45,423 bales. Generally on the trade of Mobile, an excellent account is contained in Reynold's *Sketches of Mobile*, pp. 7-9.

EARLY MANUFACTURES IN ALABAMA.

The census of 1810 showed the valuation of all manufactures in the Mississippi Territory for that year to be only \$34,657, and it is hardly probable that very much of this was produced in the Alabama section.

There was doubtless then, however, and has ever been a small class of manufactures in Alabama, an account of which is not usually taken in making estimates. The numberless utilities of the farm and the home were then as a matter of necessity of domestic artisanship, where now they are imported. From its earliest settlement to 1861, there was produced in the State a far greater variety and quantity of articles for all of the demands of life than were ever imported. The State was for this period almost self sustaining, in its absolute independence of foreign supply. And this is true, although in response to the demand of an enlightened culture and aspiration, there were large quantities of the finer fabrics and manufactured articles introduced.

In 1819, Messrs. Brown and Bell, at their ship yards in Blakeley, built and launched the steamboat "Mississippi," 400 tons, and the "Tensa," 60 tons.

It is of special interest to note the condition of manufactures in Huntsville about this time. Haughton's cotton mills, near the three forks of the Flint River, was built in 1818-19, and on Aug. 30, 1819, had in "complete operation two large double throistles with preparations, which are making thread of a superior quality." The highest price was paid for cotton; and a supply of thread was kept constantly on hand. Machinery and looms to weave by water power were soon to be introduced.

Wm. W. Gaines & Co., of Meridianville, on May 29, 1819, announce that they keep on hand a supply of gins, and manufacture screws of a superior quality.

The Alabama and East Tennessee Steamboat Company was organized at Huntsville, April 5, 1819, at the office of Henry Minor. LeRoy Pope was made President, with John Coffee, Hugh L. White, James Jackson, and J. McKinley Directors.

Mr. Isaac Williams, late of Philadelphia, in Oct., 1819, opened up an establishment for the manufacture of "tin ware, spouts, gutters, etc."

Mudd (James) and Long, in Feb., 1819, were engaged in the manufacture of saddles out on the Meridian road.

James and Wm. Badlum, Sept., 1819, announce that they will in a

few days open a brewery, and will have ready "Porter, Ale, & Beer, in barrel or smaller quantity."

EARLY NEWSPAPERS IN ALABAMA.

The earliest newspaper published in Alabama was *The Mobile Centinel*, the initial number of which appeared at Fort Stoddert, on May 23, 1811. Messrs. Samuel Miller and ——— Hood, the proprietors, had arrived here from Georgia, on their way to Mobile to establish a paper there. It continued publication at Fort Stoddert until after the issue of ———, and what its fate was subsequently, is not known. The editor owns Nos. 2 and 16, vol. i, which were mailed at the time of issue to Valentine Sevier, in East Tennessee.

The second paper was *The Madison Gazette*, established by ——— Parham. It was in existence prior to Nov. 25, 1812, which is the date of the Act creating the "Green Academy" in Madison County, in which the trustees are required to advertise the call of a meeting in this paper. Particulars concerning it or its promoter are not at hand, but it probably did not long survive.

In 1814, it is stated that George Childs published the first Mobile paper in English and French, but the name nor how long it survived has not been ascertained.—*Memorial Record of Ala.*, vol. ii, p. 165.

In 1815, G. B. Cotton founded the *Mobile Gazette and General Advertiser*. It was in existence in 1819, and is one of those referred to in Mr. Wyman's sketch as published in Mobile. As to date of establishment see Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile* (1898), p. 390; see also Reynold's *Sketches of Mobile*, pp. 4, 12.

In the spring of 1815 Thomas Eastin, Esq., started *The Halcyon*, at St. Stephens; and with vol. v, No. 1, May 3, 1819, it had become *The Halcyon, and Tombeckbee Public Advertiser*. At this date it was located on Orange Street, opposite Col Benjamin Smoot's. A partial file is preserved.

The Huntsville Advocate was founded in 1815; and the *Alabama Republican*, Jan. 1, 1817, by John Boardman. Both were published in Huntsville in 1819, but are not mentioned in the sketch above as published. Partial files of these are preserved.

The Blakeley Sun began publication by Gabriel F. Mott, probably about Dec. 1-30, 1818. The *Alabama Republican*, Jan. 9, 1819, says: "We have the first number of the 'Blakely Sun,' a semi-weekly paper printed in this territory. The *Sun* is printed on good paper of the Super-royal size and is well executed—it makes the fourth now published in Alabama; two more are shortly to be established, one at the Falls of Tuskaloosa; and one at Ft. Claiborne." The four papers were the *Mobile Gazette*, the *Blakeley Sun*, and the two Huntsville papers named in the preceding paragraph.

The *Alabama Republican*, April 3, 1819, announces the receipt of the *Alabama Courier*, established at Fort Claiborne, by Messrs. Tucker and Turner; and on May 15, 1819, the receipt of one number of *The Tuskalooza Republican*. Meek, *Romantic Passages*, etc., p. 103, says the latter was established by Thomas M. Davenport, "an enterprising printer."

The *Cahaba Press* was first issued between July 12 and Dec. 4, 1819, by Wm. Brown Allen.

The foregoing notes are based principally on an examination of original files. Maj. Wallace W. Screws has a chapter on "Alabama Journalism" in the *Memorial Record of Alabama*, vol. ii, pp. 158-235. In this monograph he shows wide research, and much critical acumen, but there are several omissions and necessarily some errors in presenting so much detail.

X. GOVERNOR WILLIAM WYATT BIBB.

BY CHARLES EDGEWORTH JONES,¹ of Augusta, Ga.

In the galaxy of worthies whose valued public service imparted lustre to the first quarter of the present century, one there was that the sister commonwealths of Georgia and Alabama delighted to honor. His career was phenomenal, and had not death prematurely supervened a great political future would in all likelihood have been his portion. We refer to the eminent physician and statesman, William Wyatt Bibb.

Our distinguished subject was born in Amelia County, Va., on the 2d of October, 1781, at a time when the fortunes of the embattled colonies were trembling in the balance, and gloom dominated all patriot hearts. His parents were William Bibb, a captain in the Revolutionary War, and Sally Wyatt, of the New Kent County, Va., family of that name. In 1789 Captain Bibb removed to Elbert County, Ga., where he died in 1796. Previous to the death of his father the son had but little educational opportunity, but his mother soon afterwards sent him to an academy presided over by Rev. Hope Hull. Here he was prepared for admission to William and Mary College, in

¹ C. E. Jones, Esq., son of Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., and Eva (*Berrien*) Eve Jones, was born in New York City, July 27, 1867. His grandfather was Rev. Charles C. Jones, a Presbyterian divine, of Liberty Co., Ga., the son of Capt. Joseph Jones, of the Liberty Independent Troop in the War of 1812, the son of Major Joseph Jones, who fell Oct. 9, 1779, in the memorable assault of the allied armies of D'Estaing and Lincoln upon the British lines around Savannah. His father (now deceased) was a Lieut. Col. of Artillery, C. S. A., and one of the most prolific authors Georgia has produced, his historical and archaeological works giving him a European reputation. Maternally Mr. Jones is a great-grandson of Major John Berrien of revolutionary memory, the son of Judge John Berrien, of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, under the Colonial establishment. William J. Eve, his grandfather, was a Georgia planter. Mr. Jones graduated at the University of Georgia, 1885, with A. B. and B. Ph. degrees; attended Johns Hopkins University, 1885-7; and admitted to the Augusta, Ga., bar, 1888. He has published *Education in Georgia* (1889); *Political and Judicial Sub-Divisions of Georgia* (1892), together with many other minor papers. He has been Historian of the Confederate Survivors Association of Augusta, since 1893. A valuable bibliography of the writings of Col. Charles C. Jones will be found in the *Report of the American Historical Association for 1889*, pp. 287-293.

which institution he remained about two years. Upon the conclusion of his studies in that venerable institution he repaired to the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, then the most superior school for Aesculapian training in the United States. Here his course was brilliantly concluded in 1801, and he received his well-merited degree of Doctor of Medicine. He began his career as a practitioner of the healing art at the prosperous village of Petersburg, in Elbert County. His skill and attention as a physician secured for him an extensive clientele, and until public duties wholly engrossed his enlightened energies, he was faithful and eminent in the exercise of his noble calling.

His first appearance in the political arena was in 1803, when he served as a member of the Georgia House of Representatives. He was then in his twenty-third year and for a couple of terms acceptably discharged the functions of his office. He next became a Georgia State Senator, and it was during his tenure of the latter position that he was, in 1807, advanced to the Lower House of Congress by a vote so convincing that it was manifest he was a popular favorite. Indeed it has been said that while "William H. Crawford and John Forsyth had more of the confidence of the authorities of the State than Dr. Bibb, George M. Troup alone rivalled him in the love of the people."² The restrictive commercial policy of President Jefferson, which was inaugurated soon after our subject's Congressional promotion, furnishing, as is known, the occasion for much weighty discussion demonstrated the latter's ability to cope with great questions, and stamped him as a leader in a body where transcendent worth and eloquence predominated. As one of Mr. Madison's confidential advisers, Dr. Bibb will be remembered, and his conservative judgment and well-considered utterances were, at all times held in the greatest respect at Washington.

In the fall of 1813, when Hon. William H. Crawford resigned his seat in the United States Senate in order to accept the French mission, Mr. Bibb had the honor to be chosen as his successor. In the new capacity he fully sustained the reputation which he had so justly achieved in the Lower House, and there was every indication of his enjoying an extended term of

² Gilmer's *First Settlers of Upper Georgia*, p. 108.

Senatorial service. The kindly relations subsisting between himself and his constituents were, however, destined within a few brief months, to be rudely disrupted. In the spring of 1816 a "compensation law" was passed by Congress, which provided for the payment to each Senator and Representative of fifteen hundred dollars per annum. This act was received with so much disfavor in Georgia, and the indignation of the people was aroused to such an extent that all of the House members in the national halls, whether they had or had not supported the objectionable measure, were, with one or two exceptions, compelled to resign, or summarily ejected from office. Among those who decided to send in their resignation was Dr. Bibb, and in November, 1816, he bade an affectionate farewell to his Senatorial associates, and retired to his Georgia home.

Our subject's mortification at this unqualified withdrawal by his constituents of their former deeply-rooted confidence was most poignant, and Mr. Madison, wishing to soothe his wounded feelings, had the graciousness to tender to him the appointment of Governor of Alabama Territory. The proffered honor was accepted, and Dr. Bibb repaired to the scene of his new activity. Thus was Dr. Bibb the first chief executive of Alabama Territory. He continued to preside with fidelity over the destinies of his territorial trust until September, 1819, when the popular voice united in selecting him as the first gubernatorial representative of the nascent Commonwealth of Alabama. And as such, so long as the history of the Cotton State is recorded, will the name of William Wyatt Bibb be proudly emblazoned upon its sturdy banners. Our subject's induction into office occurred at Huntsville in the month of November, 1819, when, amid befitting ceremony, he was saluted as the recognized chief magistrate of the newly created State. But his days of usefulness were numbered. During the following summer, while horseback-riding, he sustained internal injuries from which he never recovered. His lamented end rapidly approached, and on the 10th of July, 1820, in the fortieth year of his age, his final summons came, and the ties which had bound him to earth were forever sundered. Thus suddenly did this distinguished Southerner, who, as Legislator, Congressman, Senator and Governor, had left his impress upon the annals of State and Nation, return his stalwart but gentle spirit into the keeping of the Divine Master that bestowed it.

Though untimely cut down, he had clearly foreshadowed what political possibilities might have been his, had his valuable life been prolonged. Had longevity been vouchsafed, he might have equalled, if not surpassed, the record of his famous cousin, Hon. George M. Bibb, of the "Bluegrass Commonwealth."

We are told that Dr. Bibb was five feet ten inches high, of spare build, handsome face, and with head and features admirably expressive of mild, conciliatory and benevolent temper, sincere, upright character, and good understanding. In the opinion of a contemporary, no man of the same grade of qualifications ever exerted a more potent influence. He governed by seeming to obey, and therein lay the secret of his magic popularity.

He married the daughter of Col. Holman Freeman, of revolutionary memory, four children being the fruit of the union, only two of whom reared families.

Georgia had hastened to testify her admiration for our illustrious subject by designating one of her central and most influential counties in his honor. Alabama was not tardy in profiting by her edifying example, and soon an integral subdivision of that State had the privilege of embalming the voiceful memory of its pioneer executive.

Even now, in reviewing the remarkable career of William Wyatt Bibb, we cannot but be deeply impressed with what he so masterfully accomplished. At a period when many make their political debüt, he had swept the gamut of public office, and was ready to depart

"To that unfathomed, boundless sea,
The silent grave."

Well may Dixie feel proud of this eminent representative of her high-toned citizenship,—this talented contribution to the ranks of American statesmen. And when we remember that nearly one-half of Dr. Bibb's brief span of years was spent in the active service of his constituents, whose interests, to his latest breath, commended his untiring energies, with truthfulness may we observe that he was, in the broadest sense, a patriot, with whom fidelity to duty was the unvarying keynote of his impregnable character.

"Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non Civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida."

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

BY THE EDITOR.

The life and public services of Gov. Bibb are of special interest to Alabamians. First and only Territorial Chief Executive and first Governor of the State, to him was entrusted the task of setting in motion the machinery of local government under both. The early beginning of his public career, its brilliant continuity, and his early death strike the observer with both admiration and astonishment. Viewed in any phase of his career, his life demonstrates conspicuous political abilities and high order of executive talents.

No really satisfactory study of his life and work has ever been written. Appreciative sketches, emphasizing this or that quality of mind or activity, are all that have appeared. Mr. A. J. Pickett in his *History of Alabama*, vol. ii, pp. 374-5, 442-5, necessarily gives a valuable biography, which is presented in connection with the public events of the period.

Other sketches are found in Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 108-9; Lanman's *Dictionary of Congress* (1859), p. 52; Appleton's *Cyclopedia of Biography*, vol. 1, p. 254; and White's *Historical Collections of Georgia*.

His legislative doings in the Georgia House and Senate will be found in the Manuscript Journals, in the office of the Secretary of State, Atlanta, Ga.

He was a member of the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th Congresses, in which bodies he was an active member. Volumes 16-29 of the *Annals of Congress* contain his reported remarks on public questions.

In E. J. Harden's *Life of George M. Troup* (1859), pp. 159-161, there is an account of Mr. Bibb's defeat by Mr. Troup for the Senate in 1816. Mr. Bibb had entered the House of Representatives Jan. 26, 1807, and he now resigned the Senate, Nov. 13, 1816.

The Territorial Archives of Alabama, such as exist, should contain his official acts.

Copies of his correspondence as Territorial Governor with the State Department are in possession of the editor, and also the official communications to him from that source.

The vote between him and Hon. Marmaduke Williams in the election for Governor, Sept., 1819, is given in Garrett's *Public Men in Alabama*, p. 120, taken from the *House Journal*, 1819, p. 37.

His messages, while Governor, are printed in full in the *Journals* of the two Territorial Assemblies, and of the first State Assembly.

In Gov. George R. Gilmer's unique work, *Sketches of Some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia* (1859), pp. 107-111, and 136, there is a genealogy of the Bibb family. The editor has a much more complete genealogy of the family in MS.

The large private correspondence, papers, documents, etc., covering his public life have been long scattered and lost, and but a small number of his letters can now be found.

His mother, long after the death of Captain Bibb, married William Barnett, of Wilkes Co., Ga., son of Nat. Barnett (b. in Amherst Co., Va.) They removed to Montgomery Co., Ala., where both died. Her will, dated July 7, 1826, probated January 8, 1827, is of record in Will Book, vol. 2, 1827-1844, p. 44.

Gov. Bibb had but two children who attained majority, George Bailey Bibb, and Mary Bibb, who married Alfred V. Scott. For the latter, see D. H. Cram's *Scott Genealogy*.

XI. WILCOX'S BRIGADE.¹

BY GEN. CADMUS MARCELLUS WILCOX.²

Resigned my commission of captain in the Seventh Regiment of United States Infantry the morning of June 8, 1861, at Fort Fillmore, fifty-four miles north of El Paso, Texas. I had seen in a Texas newspaper that reached us the evening before, that both North Carolina and Tennessee had seceded, the former my native State, the latter my home. On tendering my resignation, the post commander gave me leave of absence for seven days, and I applied for an extension of twenty days from the department commander, with permission to go to San Antonio, Texas, to await the acceptance of my resignation. Within an hour after handing in my resignation and getting my seven days' leave I took the overland stage for El Paso and reached that place before sundown.

Remained here three days and then, in company with three other resigned officers and one citizen, took the stage for San Antonio, over 600 miles in distance, wild prairie country, good natural roads, and made the trip in a little less than six days.

The mails from Washington south had been suspended and after remaining three or four days in San Antonio, left for Richmond, Va., resting for two days in New Orleans, and arrived on the 9th of July. Was appointed colonel in the Provisional Army

¹This sketch was prepared for James E. Saunders, Esq., late of Courtland, A. a. It has been kindly furnished for publication here by Mrs. W. C. Stubbs, a granddaughter, who now has all of the manuscripts and papers left by Mr. Saunders.

²Gen. C. M. Wilcox was born in Wayne County, N. C., May 29, 1826, and at two years of age his parents removed to Tennessee. He graduated at the U. S. Military Academy in 1846; was in the Mexican War; served as assistant instructor of tactics at the Military Academy, 1852-57; and at the breaking out of the Civil War was a captain of infantry on frontier duty in New Mexico. He resigned and was commissioned colonel of the 9th Ala. Regt., July 11, 1861; promoted brigadier general, Oct. 21, 1861, and major general, Aug. 9, 1863. He served with the Army of Northern Virginia till the final surrender. In 1886 he was appointed chief of the railroad division of the General Land Office, Washington, D. C.; and on Dec. 2, 1890, died in that city. He was the author of some military works, and wrote a *History of the War with Mexico*. See Appleton's *Cyclopedia of Biography*, vol. vi, p. 504.

of the Confederate States and assigned to the command of the 9th Alabama Regiment of volunteers; it had volunteered for the war and numbered 844, officers and men. Was an organized regiment in every respect and only wanted a colonel; the ten captains had petitioned Secretary of War (Pope Walker) to give them a resigned officer from the United States. Arriving, I visited their camp near the fair ground, sent for the officers, informed them who I was, and that I had been told they had requested the Secretary to give them a resigned officer for colonel, and wished to know if it was a fact; and why they desired such a person for colonel. They replied that I had been correctly informed; that they had volunteered for the war, knew nothing of soldiering or of military matters and thought it best to have some one who could instruct them.

I replied that, in my opinion they had acted wisely, that I could not say they had been fortunate in the selection made by the Secretary of War; but that I would do my best to instruct them and as speedily as possible, and that if they would give me their support we would, I thought, soon be pretty good soldiers. They were full of zeal and anxious to leave Richmond, to get to the army either at Manassas or in the Valley. My commission, dated July 11, 1861, and on the 14th we left Richmond for Winchester, with orders to report to Gen. Joe E. Johnston. We went by railroad to Manassas Junction and thence to Strausberry, and marched to Winchester, sixteen miles. The march was made in good order, with no stragglers and we reached our camp about sundown. It was a long march, for the first one, and many men's shoes not well suited for the purpose. While sitting in the cars in Richmond, and a few minutes before the train started, Colonel Cabell, formerly a member of Congress from Florida, came to the window of the car, gave me an extra Richmond *Whig*, announcing a collision between Union and Confederate force in West Virginia, in which Brigadier General Robert S. Garnett was killed. This officer had been one of General Taylor's *aide-de-camps* in the Mexican War. We had served together in the army and were on most intimate and friendly terms. He and myself had been groomsmen to Colonel Cabell, who was married in St. Louis, Mo., and I had been his (Garnett's) first groomsmen, and General McClellan, who commanded the Union soldiers, was my classmate at West

Point and I was also his senior groomsmen. There could have been no death among my army associates that would have excited more of my sympathies or have been heard with more sorrow, and I felt it to be a great loss to the Confederacy. He was full of talent and professional pride; had he lived the chances were that few would have shown more skill or been more deservedly distinguished.

On our arrival at Winchester we were ordered into camp about a mile from the town. At General Johnston's headquarters when I reported, I found Brigadier General W. H. C. Whiting,³ a resigned engineer officer who had held the rank of captain in that [branch], and Brigadier General E. Kirby Smith, a resigned captain of cavalry. They had already been made brigadier generals. The brigade that I subsequently commanded was organized in the valley near Winchester, as the different regiments reported their arrival, the 9th Alabama being the last regiment assigned to it. It was composed at first as follows: 9th Alabama, 10th Alabama, 11th Alabama, 19th Mississippi and the 38th Virginia—five—regiments. E. K. Smith, or Edmund Kirby Smith was the first brigade commander. He had already been made a brigadier when the 9th reported. Officers of the 9th Alabama: Colonel, C. M. Wilcox; lieutenant colonel, Sam. Henry (Guntersville, Ala., had been once a Cadet at West Point, but not a graduate); major, E. A. O'Neal, Florence; adjutant, Lieut. Weedon, Huntsville, Ala.; quartermaster, Captain Burleson; commissary, Captain Stephens; surgeon, Dr. Anderson; assistant surgeon, Dr. John M. Hayes, Florence, Ala.

Officers of the 10th Alabama: Colonel, John H. Forney (resigned as a first lieutenant, 7th U. S. Infantry. I think he belonged to the 7th); Lieut. Col. Martin (had been a judge, lived in Talladega City); Maj. J. J. Woodward (had been a judge, Talladega City), Surgeon Clark. Quartermaster, commissary and adjutant I don't remember.

Officers of the 11th Alabama: Colonel, Sydenham Moore, of Greene County, born in Rutherford County, Tenn., had been judge of County and Circuit Court, member of the 35th and 36th Congress, had been a captain in Colonel Coffee's regiment of volunteers in Mexican War; lieutenant, Stephen F. Hale, of

³Died a prisoner at Governor's Island, New York, March 10, 1865.

Greene County, now Hale, Eutaw; major, Archibald Gracie, a West Point graduate, but had been living in Mobile several years before the war. He was a New Jersey man by birth and rearing, had married a Miss Mayo, niece of Gen. Winfield Scott's wife; surgeon, Dr. Ashe, Demopolis; adjutant, Walter E. Winn, Demopolis; commissary, R. H. Robertson, Demopolis; quartermaster, Gideon J. Pierce, Eutaw, Hale [Greene] County.

Officers of the 19th Mississippi: Colonel, C. H. Mott, Holly Springs, Miss., had served in the Mexican war in Jeff Davis' regiment; lieutenant colonel, L. Q. C. Lamar,⁴ Oxford, Miss., born in Georgia, member of the 35th and 36th Congress in secession convention of his State; major, Benj. F. Alston, South Carolina, West Point graduate, had resigned second lieutenant for the army, regiment I don't remember; surgeon, Dr. Peel; assistant surgeon, Dr. Minor, afterwards of the 9th Alabama; adjutant, Lieutenant Govan. Quartermaster and commissary I don't remember.

Officers of the 38th Virginia: Colonel, E. C. Edmonds, graduate of the Virginia Military Institute, at Lexington; lieutenant colonel, Powhattan Little, or Lyttle [Whittle], don't remember which; Major Cabell. I don't remember any of the staff officers. It was the only twelve months' regiment in the brigade.

MARCH TO MANASSAS.

The troops under General Johnston that were in the valley (with but a small force left behind to baffle Patterson), marched from the vicinity of Winchester, the 18th of July, beginning about noon, Jackson's brigade (Stonewall) leading. The head of Jackson's brigade reached Paris, on the east slope of the Blue Ridge, some two hours after dark, he had made seventeen miles; the other brigades camped on the Shenandoah, thirteen miles from Winchester. Officers of the regular army, who had been accustomed to discipline troops, felt some little discouragement at this march. It was so irregular, the slightest obstacle or inconvenience causing so much delay, the crossing of a little stream a few inches deep and less than six feet wide occupied our regiment nearly an hour, the men walked over it on a narrow plank. When the issue at stake was so great and the necessity of reach-

⁴ Mayes' *Lamar's Life, Times, and Speeches* (1896), p. 94.

ing Beauregard on Bull Run was so urgent, no wonder there was discouragement among educated soldiers.

Jackson reached Piedmont, on the Manassas Gap Railroad, six miles beyond Paris, by 8 on next morning; left on the cars in two hours. Other brigades in the afternoon, and by 2 p. m. cars enough for two regiments came and carried off the Georgia regiments. This was all the infantry that were transported on the 19th, the cavalry and artillery marched on for Bull Run. General Johnston left on the evening of the 20th with a force of two or three regiments, leaving General Smith to expedite the remainder, more than half his army. General Smith left next, leaving myself to forward or bring up the remainder; but Colonel Forney ranked me, on the 11st, our brigade and others did not reach Manassas Junction until daylight the 22d, day after the battle.⁵ Deficient transportation caused this delay. Good disciplined troops could have made it by marching in time for the battle.

The 22d July it rained all day, much of the time very hard, the brigade was marched from the Junction over to Bull Run in the rain and through the mud and encamped not far from Bull Run, some five or six miles from Manassas Junction. This was really a trying day to young soldiers of the volunteer kind. They had been thoroughly drenched, and all soiled with mud, tents were wet and the ground was soft. The 9th encamped on high ground near Young's Branch that ran into Bull Run near Stone Bridge (Warrenton Turnpike).

The next day was clear and after the excitement of looking over the battlefield and hearing the various and sundry accounts given of it by those who took part in the battle, we began on our real labor and trouble, the instruction and discipline of officers and men. I began with squad drills and teaching at the same time the officers the tactics.

Soon the new soldiers began to get sick and by August 1st there [were] 240 of the 9th on sick report, mostly measles.

I should state that Gen. Kirby Smith reached Manassas whilst the battle of the 21st was raging, and led other troops in battle, his brigade being still at Piedmont Station, and was seriously wounded, went on sick leave several months, and when he returned he was made a major general; so he really never com-

⁵See Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 602.

manded the brigade after it left Winchester and in all less than a week, I think. Col. John H. Forney, of the 10th Ala., commanded until my promotion, October 21st.

About the middle of August, the brigade changed camp over to and beyond, but near Bristoe Station, the first station beyond Manassas (on Richmond Hill). The men were daily drilled and the officers required to study and recite the tactics; sickness continued and at one time over 300 were sick; on the 8th of September a little over 200 men were sick and there had been up to that nineteen deaths, one a lieutenant. These numbers of sick and death were of the 9th Alabama alone; other regiments, I suppose, had about the same relative numbers.

September 3, 1861, General Johnston sent for me, and said he had learned that the enemy had a large quantity of stores at Frederick, Md., and but a weak guard and he wished me to command an expedition to that place to capture and bring as much of it as I could back across the Potomac. I must cross that river at the point deemed safest and best.

I was authorized to take Col. Angus McDonald's regiment of cavalry, Turner Ashby being the lieutenant colonel, and to draw four companies and cavalry from Leesburg and as much militia as General Carson could give or I might want. I set out at once for Winchester, taking with me Lieutenant Adjutant (sic) of Pendleton's artillery, and Dr. Johnson, a Frederick man, who had brought the information to General Johnston. We reached Winchester that night. I saw Colonel McDonald and General Carson—half of the regiment of the former was down near Charlestown, eight miles from Harper's Ferry. Took the train for Charlestown early next morning; reached the town, sent out to Ashby's camp and requested him to come in with his companies. He complied promptly. We went down near the ferry, had a skirmish and during our reconnoissance two of the cavalry were wounded. It was determined to cross at the ferry the next day and strike for Frederick; but on our return to Winchester we met a man who had left Frederick the day before. He reported that the enemy had marched all their supplies off, leaving nothing to capture. Dr. Johnson knew this party and said he was trustworthy. We returned to our camp near Bristoe, reported to General Johnston the result; he approved. I was gone four days.

About 20th of September the brigade moved camp over beyond Centreville a mile or two, and were encamped on south side of the road to Fairfax C. H. Sickness continued, but health improved after middle of October. In October our brigade furnished equipment for a five days' tour of picket duty, our advanced posts near Munson's and Mason's hill were withdrawn to near Fairfax. These places were in sight of Washington; our troops in rear concentrated near Centreville.

September 16th, 9th Alabama went on picket to the Braddock crossing of the Accotink; the next day, 17th, changed to Sangsters Cross Roads in rear, and near Bull Run; our regimental camp in the meantime was moved back three miles beyond Centreville to Cub Run, the next day, 18th, we went to Chantilly's, remained there two days, and the next day to Braddock crossing of Cub Run and the next returned to our camp on Cub Run. Good deal excitement in early days of October about the 10th, and later expecting an advance of the enemy, and expectations as to our advance upon Washington.

October 20th the 9th Alabama was under arms all night expecting to be sent to Leesburg; on 21st Evans' brigade at Leesburg attacked, enemy repulsed with heavy losses, killed, wounded and drowned in the Potomac.

Promoted brigadier general to date from October 21, 1861, and take our men of the brigade relieving Colonel Forney, of the 10th Alabama. Lieut. Col. Henry was made colonel of the 9th. During all the summer and autumn during good weather there were always drills in the 9th Alabama, and when I left it to take command of the brigade in drill it was but little inferior to the best drilled regiment of regular troops.

The brigade of Gen. Samuel Jones⁶ brigade, and that of Gen. D. R. Jones formed a division commanded by my major general, G. W. Smith,⁷ a resigned engineer officer, withal resigned several years before the war and was superintendent of streets in city of New York at the beginning of the war, he reached the Confederacy in October. Batteries and several redoubts were constructed near Centreville. In early part of November good deal of excitement in camp over the capture of a neutral vessel of Slidell & Mason.

⁶ Died in Washington, D. C., Aug. 1, 1887.

⁷ Died in New York City, June 24, 1896.

DRAINSVILLE, VA.

November 20th, Gen. J. E. B. Stuart was sent out in Loudon County to forage; besides his cavalry, he had the 1st Kentucky, Col. Tom Taylor, a South Carolina regiment, and one from Virginia, 6th, 10th Alabama, in all 1,600 infantry and Cutt's battery to cover his own withdrawal; he attacked a Federal force, and a rather serious affair it proved to be to the 10th. Its colonel, John H. Forney, had his arm badly broken; Lieut. Col. Martin was killed, distinguished at home as an able lawyer and judge and would have made a good soldier; and Capt. W. H. Forney wounded in the leg; he was subsequently colonel and brigadier general and even marched the brigade. Colonel Forney left on sick leave and was never any more in Virginia. The autumn and early winter were favorable for drills, &c. The latter part of December or early in January the troops went into winter quarters and a suspension of military exercises ensued; the winter was tedious, a mud blockade; active military operations suspended. General Johnston estimated his forces at the end of the year in effective total 57,337,—10,241 in the Vailey district, 6,257 in the Acquia district and 40,839 in the Army of the Potomac.

PREPARATIONS FOR FALLING BACK FROM CENTERVILLE.

July 22d orders were given to remove public property back to Gordonville beyond the Rapidan and orders issued subsequently to move on the 8th March. The brigade moved out but a short distance on the Warrenton turnpike; bivouacked at Groveton, the next, 9th, camped near New Baltimore and on the 10th crossed Rappahannock near Warrenton Spring; the brigade with the division marched on to Culpeper C. H., halted here several days. I was sick, so much so as to seek shelter of a house near camp; march resumed and we crossed the Rapidan about 20th of March, remained here several days, when the brigade was ordered to Richmond; reached there early in the morning; and was ordered to Goldsboro, North Carolina, to report to Maj. Gen. T. H. Holmes; on the arrival of the train at Weldon an order, telegraphic, was received ordering the brigade back to Petersburg and thence down the James to King's Mill Landing. Reaching Petersburg, part of the brigade was placed aboard a steamer on the Appomattox and started for City Point, on the

James River; the other part of brigade took the train for the same point. The brigade reunited at City Point, and went aboard a large, fine steamer and down the James to King's Mill Landing and marched out ten miles to Lebanon Church, where we bivouacked near dark, and in a slight rain. The brigade had been ordered to report to Maj. Gen. John B. Magruder, his headquarters near a mile from the church.

After getting into camp, I went with my field officers to call on General Magruder. He received us both politely and kindly, and his manner, general appearance and conversation made a strong impression on the latter; they at once thought him a great soldier, and some predicted that he would eventually command the army. It was the evening of the 30th of March that the brigade reached Lebanon Church; it now numbered about 2,000 men, including a battery that followed it in a few days. The 38th Virginia was a twelve months' regiment, and was undergoing a reorganization. When the brigade was detached from the army on the Rapidan, it remained behind and never subsequently belonged to the brigade.

General Magruder had under him Brig. Gen. L. McLaws and Brig. Gen. Gabriel Rains, and 8,000 men when I reported to him; he so stated to me when asked. His lines extended from Gloucester Point on north side of York river to Mulberry Point on the James river. I rode one day with General McLaws from Lee's Mills on the Warwick river to the James, and the next day from the same mill to Yorktown on York river. I had then seen all but Gloucester Point beyond the river; this I did not visit.⁸

⁸Sketches of the 9th, 10th and 11th Alabama Regiments are to be found in Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 602-608. The field and staff officers, and company commanders are given. This valuable work contains also biographical sketches of every prominent member of these commands.

In the office of the Adj. Gen. of Ala. will be found the original records. The muster rolls of the 9th, with historical memoranda, show the regiment "as first organized." The muster rolls of the 10th and 11th Regiments "are complete, with historical memoranda, from organization to surrender."

For the reports of the battle of Drainesville, Va., Nov. 26-27, 1861, see *Official Records Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, vol. 5, *passim*. This monumental work contains also reports, orders, etc., for all subsequent engagements. See also *Southern Historical Society Papers*, *passim*.

XII. DAIRY OF RICHARD BRECKENRIDGE, 1816.¹

INTRODUCTION. BY H. S. HALBERT.

The original of this diary, or journal, is the property of Mr. R. H. Breckenridge, of Neshoba Co., Miss., a son of the pioneer. He permitted me to copy it for publication.

Several pages are lost from the beginning of the diary and two pages at the close. Mr. Breckenridge, who had read it before the loss of these pages, says that his father with some companions upon leaving their home in Tennessee first came to the Tombigbee country, about Columbus, Miss. Here they separated and he set out alone. One night, at his camp, while chopping wood, he accidentally cut his foot severely with a hatchet. It bled very profusely, which rendered him so weak and helpless that he was compelled to remain four days at this camp. He finally managed to crawl to his mare, which was hobbled near by, mounted her and rode back to an Indian's cabin which he had passed the day before the accident. Here he remained several days, until he recovered sufficiently so as to resume his journey. The red man was very kind and attentive in administering to his comfort and necessities.

¹ Richard Breckenridge was born in Screven Co., Ga., Nov. 2, 1781, and died in Marengo Co., Ala., Dec. 9, 1840. He was of Scotch-Irish stock, his grandfather, John Breckenridge removing to North Ireland from Scotland. His son, James, marrying in Ireland, emigrated to the Southern Colonies about 1775, accompanied by Samuel and Mary Gibson. They located in Screven Co., Ga., where James Breckenridge and wife died, leaving no daughters, but five sons, John, Joseph, Robert, Richard and James (who died young). Several of the family removed to Tenn., and Richard Breckenridge was in the Creek War of 1812. After the trip narrated in the diary, he came overland to Columbus, Miss., and there built boats, in which he embarked with his family and effects, and floated down the Tombigbee river to Marengo Co. Here he located. His wife to whom he was married Sept. 11, 1806, was Mary Ann Gibson, born Jan. 4, 1784, and died 1839, the daughter of Samuel and Mary Gibson above. The latter came to Ala., and lived in Marengo Co., and later moving to Sumter Co., where they died. Richard Breckenridge had eleven children, all of whom grew to maturity and married, except two. Two sons are now living. John T. Breckenridge (b. 1815), resides in Peede, Tex., and Richard Breckenridge (b. 1827), in Neshoba Co., Miss. Descendants of Richard's brother, Robert Breckenridge, now reside in Alabama. The family are originally of the Presbyterian faith.

DIARY.

[August 7, 1816,] to my last night's camp; expect to go up the river in the morning to see if I can find inhabitants or a place to cross. I saw no good land to-day except some in the swamp. The country is very broken. I have seen neither Indians nor white men since the day I left Mr. McMilen's.²

August the 8th. I took up the river this morning, and had a tolerable good road. About 11 o'clock, I crossed a very large creek somewhat in appearance like Big Shoal Creek and nearly as wide as Elk. There was some very good land in this creek bottom, and I suppose water might be tolerably convenient, but the country is as broken as it is on Elk. I saw this day on a creek west of this large one as beautiful a site for a mill as I ever did see—fine bluffs on both sides and a [a few words here illegible]. I have not since 12 o'clock come across one acre of tillable land, but the most broken mountainous country I ever was in. The mare is almost done, cut with bushes, briars and thorns. I intend to push in the morning to find a path to some inhabitants. I think it cannot be far from the road that leads down to the Falls from Ditto's Landing.³

August the 9th. I started this morning a southeast course. About 12 o'clock, I came to a creek, which runs nearly my course. From its looks, its swamp appears almost impassable. I have been going down it all evening and have seen no place to cross. I am in great anxiety, having spent ten days and done nothing. This is the fifth day that I have seen neither Indian nor white man. I now repent that I did not go to Colbert at the Cotton Gin⁴ and make the necessary inquiries. I had a very

²It has been found impossible from available data, and in the absence of a knowledge of the local topography to follow with any particularity or certainty the route of travel from the time the diary opens on Aug. 7 to Aug. 20, when the river is reached. It appears probable that after he left his companions, he went up the Tombigbee river in the direction of Cotton Gin Port. After a day or two he abruptly changed his course to the East and South-east, in which general direction he continued until he entered Jones' Valley. All his observations show that he traveled along the South side of the water shed between the Tennessee river and the several creeks flowing into the Tombigbee and Warrior rivers. His route evidently carried him across parts of Marion, Winston and Walker Counties. Through all this region there was not a single settler.

³The present town of Whitesburg on the Tennessee river, directly South of Huntsville, is located at Ditto's Landing.

⁴Cotton Gin Port, Miss., is on the Tombigbee river North of Aberdeen, and near the present Amory, on the Kansas City, Memphis and Birmingham R. R.

heavy rain to-day and it is yet cloudy. I had a extensive prospect to-day from the top of a very high knob, and from the appearance I have a large creek or river yet to cross. I also repent that I did not take a direct east course. Deer are plenty in the woods, but very wild.

August the 10th. At noon. I started this morning down the creek that I lay on last night, but finding that it turned a south-western course, I resolved to cross it, which I did without much difficulty. It is a large creek and the swamp is nearly half a mile wide. I am now apprehensive that the creek and river I mentioned on the [date illegible] is no part of the Black Warrior, but makes into the Tombigbee west of the Black Warrior, and if so, it may be a great ways to the Black Warrior; yet on the creek I came down yesterday, there is some level land, but it is thin. The growth is red oak, post oak, dogwood, pine and chestnut. There are some good springs, but off from the creek. The land is hilly and broken. As the ground is getting more rocky than it was for some distance back, I am in hopes that I am not far from the river. I continue a southeast course, though slow, for I can hardly get my mare along, her legs are so sore and her back is also hurt. Agreeably to my suspicion at noon, I came in the evening to a large creek, but it does not afford much water now. In about two miles I came to a smaller one, but it did not run. I am now camped on the east or rather south of the latter, and I believe on as good up land as I saw since I left Tennessee valley or rather better. I intend, if nothing prevents, to continue my course in the morning in order to strike the road from Ditto's Landing to the Falls, if these water courses do run into the Black Warrior, otherwise, to strike that river.

August the 11th. Noon. I crossed another large creek this morning. These all run [word illegible]. I then crossed over some very high knobs or mountains. I then came to a branch running nearly south. I came down it so far I expect from the appearance that I have another creek to cross shortly. I have seen no good land since morning, except in the creek bottom, where I had to cut my way with my tomahawk through a cane-brake. I continued down the branch to a creek where I had to cut my way through another cane brake, in doing which I narrowly escaped being bit by a large rattlesnake. I then with difficulty got to the top of a very high knob and went a mile and

then camped. I saw no good land except in the swamp and that overflows in high waters.

August the 12th. I came over some broken ground and high knobs. I came through some pretty good land, if it was level and had water, but springs are scarce—in fact, I saw none. I mean to take a more south course this evening in order to get out of the hills. I came over some high knobs a south course and am camped on a branch that runs south. I expect to keep down to the mouth, in case it keeps that course. I am considerably uneasy on account of some bad looking sores that have been coming on my crippled foot for several days past. There is scarcely any getting out of these branches. The hills are steep and high. I had a rain to-day and it is yet cloudy. I fear there will be more to-night. I wish it might be clear to-morrow, otherwise I doubt I shall steer badly.

August the 13th. I started this morning a south course in order to avoid some hills. I have crossed one stout creek twice to-day. It runs nearly south, I intend now to leave it to the right, and bear a little east of south. I have seen no good land to-day that was tendable. I saw some good springs, but the land about them was poor. I kept nearly a south course till late in the evening when I was obliged to turn eastwardly to avoid some impassable bluffs. I saw no good land this evening except one small spot. The ground on it was black oak, chestnut, pine and some poplar. I have gone up some very steep bluffs or knobs and gone down as many. They are here chiefly confined to the water courses and are so steep that I have frequently to put down my hands to assist myself up. I have to wet the soles of my shoes before I attempt to go either up or down, for I have to walk and lead the mare. I have some times been afraid that I and the mare both would slip and tumble to the bottom.

August the 14th. I have been obliged to keep considerably to the east this day on account of some very high bluffs and have just crossed a large creek that runs a little to the west of south. There is some good land in the bottom which appears tolerably extensive in some places. I came down it some distance, but saw no chance for water; but the creek is also confined by very high bluffs. I was obliged to rest several times in coming up. I also got some falls. It is very tedious travelling here, for I cannot keep the creek bottom for the cane or bluffs putting in,

nor can I keep down the creek or the hills, for the drains or branches that put in on each side are as difficult to pass as the creek. There is but one way to go with any kind of ease, and that is to keep the dividing ridge between the water courses when they run the course you want to go. This way is also attended with difficulties, for if I do not exactly keep the right ridge, I am then involved in drains and bluffs. My foot continues to be very sore. I have made a very sorry out this evening at traveling. In attempting to go more, lost, I got involved in an old hurricane, that has not been burned these several years, and it was so thick with bushes, vines and briars that I was obliged to resume my south course again which led me across another creek that runs into the one I crossed in the forenoon. I am now camped on the bank of this large creek. The bed of this creek appears to be about thirty yards wide, but it does not run enough at this time to drive a grist mill. The bottom above here is not so wide as it was. There might, I think, be got one or two springs in the bank of the creek that makes in above here, but the bottom at this place is rather too narrow for a plantation. I killed another large rattlesnake to-day—ticks of all kinds wonderful here. There was some middling land on the knob, but it is inconvenient to water, and not much of it tendable. I have seen no place since I started that I would like to live at.

August the 15th, 1816. I started this morning intending to keep down the creek, but finding difficulties, I resolved to try the knob again, which I did until I came to a branch that runs into the river.⁵ I saw no good land nor springs of any sort. The river at this place is about one hundred yards wide. I would like to cross it, if I could find a place that I could ford. I intend to try this evening, and if I cannot, I will, I believe, go into Jones' valley and try to get some corn, for the mare is nearly done out. I have kept up the river this evening in hopes to find a place to cross, but have not. I made one attempt, but it failed, and I was under the necessity of turning back when I was nearly half way cross, for fear the mare would get her leg broke among the rocks. The river at the place I attempted to cross was, I suppose, nearly two hundred yards wide. The water was

⁵It is conjectured that this point was between the mouths of Black Water and Lost Creeks, and nearer the latter.

very dead. I could hardly perceive it run. The river affords no bottom land of consequence, nor have I seen any spring.

Noon. August the 16th. I continue to keep up the river in hopes to find a place that I can cross. It is hard getting along for the cane and briars that are between the bluff and the river; if they continue so long, I will be obliged to take the knob again. The land in the river bottom, when there is any of consequence, is very rich. I passed through a piece of ground that appears to have been cultivated a great many years ago. It was tolerably rich, but broken. This river seems well stocked with fish. I have been obliged to quit the river and take to the knob. I will be under the disagreeable necessity of keeping up the river until I can either find inhabitants or a path that crosses. I am heartily tired of this side of the Black Warrior. I saw no good land except a strip about thirty yards wide on the bank of the river, nor any springs except one small one that comes out of the hill in the drain. I came up from the river in the water—had a disagreeable taste, but the deer appear to resort to it, for the paths lead to it in many directions. I have had a little rain since I stopped and expect more to-night, for it is very thick and cloudy—it is also very warm.

August the 17th. At noon. I concluded this morning to return home and for that purpose took a northwest course, keeping the dividing ridge between the water courses, but I have some how missed it and have again got upon a branch that runs nearly north. I mean to follow it to the mouth if it keeps that course. Water is very scarce here. What I do get is not fit to drink, if it could be avoided. I have not had as bad road and have come much better speed than I have done for several days past. But I dread the lack of water, especially after I get on the mountain, in case I keep this course. I have suffered to-day and am obliged to camp without any.

August 18th. Noon. It was misty and cloudy this morning, so that I could not see the sun until it was two or three hours high. I started but stopped again, expecting that I was out of my course. I found after the sun shone that I had gone out of the way. I have turned a little to the east of north in hopes of finding a path that goes from Milton's Bluff^s to the

^sThis is a high bluff on the Tennessee river in Lawrence Co., and at the head of Muscle Shoals. In 1819 the town of Marathon was laid out

Black Warrior, as I doubt it will be difficult getting across the mountain without a path. I have just crossed a creek that affords some good bottom land. The up land is also middling good. It is not very level, but it is tendable. I saw no spring on it, nor do I believe there is any convenient to it. The wood is very thick with bushes, not having been burnt in a long time; it is so [word illegible] horse's traveling. I have had a severe time this evening with bushes, knobs and bluffs. The mare seems considerably worsted. I came to this creek some distance below, but I could not get across for the bluffs. I again took the knob until I came to a branch that runs north. I took it down to the mouth, and then crossed a large creek, but it runs very little at this time. As I saw a good deal of sign of deer, I resolved to try and get one in the morning, as I have been three days without meat. At the place I first came to this creek there was a new dam made across it by the beavers. The bushes and briers have made my shins almost as sore as the mare's.

August the 19th, 1816. I left my camp this morning in order to try to kill a deer. I had not gone over a quarter of a mile before I saw two fawns. I killed one and have spent the forenoon and part of the afternoon in baking bread and barbecuing the meat. There is a trail that goes up this creek. I mean to take it if it goes any thing nigh my course, and if I can keep it. If it was not for that I would stay here to-night and make boots for the mare out of the deer skin. I took the trail that led me into a tolerably plain path. It appears to go northeast and southwest. I took the northeast and intend to follow it until I get a more suitable one. I saw one spring to-day, which is the first I have seen for many days. There is also some good land not far from it, but it is broken.

August the 20th, 1816. I have got very much deceived in my expectations, for the path has led me almost a south course, and as I do not like to take the woods again, I mean to follow it, if I can, until it crosses the Black Warrior, or until I can find a more suitable path. I have seen no good land to-day of consequence, nor any spring. The range is not very good either. I

at this point, but it failed to realize the hopes of its projectors, and in a few years disappeared from the maps. It is conjectured that this "path" may have become in after years the basis of the old Cheatham road from Moulton to Tuscaloosa.

came this evening to some Indian cabins that appear not to have been inhabited these four or five years. They are situated on the north fork of the Black Warrior.⁷ The land seems to be good but not very extensive. The situation is handsome. Some person has made a little improvement and engraved the letters A. P. on one of the trees. I then crossed below the fork where I got some good spring water. There is also some good land convenient to that, but it is narrow. I then recrossed the south fork and camped. My path continues yet to go too much to the south.

August the 21st. After taking a look at the land at the fork of the Black Warrior, I took a trail that led me to some more of their towns or houses. At one in particular, there was a fine peach orchard, but the land was thin. I then took a path that led me south for some distance. It then turned [word illegible]. I came late in the evening to Jones' Valley.⁸ This valley contains some good land and is finely watered. They have two mills running in the valley and expect soon to have a third. There is a small store,⁹ the keeper of which offers to engage cotton at five dollars per hundred. Crops are very sorry here, for they have had no rain since June. The grass and even the bushes appear to wither. I think from the appearance of the land, it will suit wheat in preference to any land that I ever saw.

August the 22d. Having with some difficulty got a half a bushel of corn, I started this morning for Ditto's Landing.

⁷This was probably a part of what is known on all the old maps as Old Warrior Town, as no other Indian Village was situated in such a locality as is here described. Although Col. John Coffee burned this town in Oct., 1813, it is not unlikely that some of the Indian cabins escaped destruction.—Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. ii, p. 203. The Indians had a crossing place at Squaw Shoals below the main forks of the river and there were probably a few Indian huts there, but this point is too far South to correspond with other topographical features, principally the entrance to Jones' Valley, the points there passed, and the distance from the falls. Mr. Henry McCalley in his *Report on the Warrior Coat Field* (1886), pp. 153-4, says:

"Squire Jack Phillips, now of a ripe old age, whose house stands on the site of the ancient Indian Village of 'Old Warrior Town,' says that Black Warrior Chief of the Cherokees, lived in that village, some 50 years ago."

After leaving the vicinity his route run East and then South, which brought him into the Valley in the upper part of Jefferson County.

⁸See note 16, *infra*. The exact point where he entered has not been satisfactorily identified. The names of the mills have not been ascertained. One of these, however, was probably what is now Bandy's Mill on valley creek, a few miles above Bessemer, Jefferson County. This mill was built by Wm. Brooks, and the first grinding was done March 10, 1816. Another may have been John Click's mill. See note 11, *infra*.

⁹See note 11, *infra*.

Night. I made a later start and got but about 16 or 18 miles. I have had pleasant company here to what I have had, for I have the company of a fine gang of cattle.

August the 23rd. Noon. Having this morning met with Mr. George Reed¹⁰ and others going down to the Falls of the Black Warrior and Cahawba, I concluded to accompany them and so returned with them. Night. We continued down Jones' Valley—saw some excellent land and then camped about four miles above Click's store.¹¹

August 24th, 1816. Started early. Went down to Pennington's Mill¹² where we bought some meal and corn at one dollar per bushel. This man also sold us some butter milk at 12½ cents per quart. Having left Mr. Pennington's we travelled about five miles to a fine spring and then nooned, at which time Mr. Reed offered Mr. McCoy 50 cents if he would kill a small swamp rabbit that appeared wonderfully restless. He took the rifle and notwithstanding its restlessness he killed it at the first shot.

August the 25th. We saw some good land and some fine springs, but the water was not [word illegible]. We camped at a fine spring but the land was broken.

August the 26th. We came over some high pine ridges to Hurricane Creek,¹³ where we found another good spring, but the land was not very good, and we went down the creek some distance but saw no good land.

¹⁰There were three Reed families in Jefferson County as early as 1819, but they are not known to be related to George Reed, here mentioned.

¹¹John Click, a Revolutionary soldier, in the first years of the settlement of Jones' Valley, located on the East side of Valley Creek, between the present Hawkins Big Spring and Powderly. Here he built a mill, which later became the property of his son, Moss Click. It is not improbable that he had a small store, and perhaps his was one of the mills referred to above, note 8. See Tourrette's *Map of Ala.*, 1856. However, "the keeper" of this store may have been either Matthew or John Click, both of whom are mentioned in Smith's *Reminiscences*, pp. 93 and 135, as early merchants in Tuscaloosa.

¹²Where this mill was located is not known, although it appears to have been a two day's journey from the falls of the Warrior. This may have been built and owned by Abel Pennington, who in 1819 was a Deputy Sheriff in Tuscaloosa County. See Smith's *Reminiscences*, p. 284.

¹³This creek has its headwaters in the Northeastern part of Tuscaloosa County, flows in a Westerly direction until in a few miles of Tuscaloosa, then turns directly North and empties into the Warrior about ten miles above the city.

August the 27th, 1816. We came down this day to the Falls.¹⁴ We saw some excellent land and some good springs. There is as handsome a situation for a town as I ever saw. Within half a mile of the river, springs are plenty and excellent. I want a home that [several words illegible] move as soon as possible.

August 28th, 1816. I take the third start for home this morning, much better satisfied than I have ever been before. 10 o'clock. I traded for a small improvement and engaged the same man to cut the logs of a house, 20 by 16, on an adjoining spring. I then started and went [words illegible] to a small branch being 10 miles from Hurricane Creek, the first water.

August the 29th, 1816. I started this morning and came 8 miles before I got water. I then came to Mr. William Roops,¹⁵ and got a good breakfast, and corn for the mare. At night. I came this evening to Mr. Jones¹⁵ in the valley where I am more hospitably entertained than in any other place since I left home. He gave me corn at 50 cents per bushel, and fodder, three bundles for 6½ cents. Supper for 12½ cents. This is just one half the common price in the valley. Bed gratis. It is forty-five miles from here to the Falls of the Black Warrior and forty to the Falls

¹⁴Tuscaloosa.

¹⁵William Roupe is said to have been the first settler near the present Bucksville in the lower part of Jefferson County. The "Big Spring" on the old Huntsville road north from Bucksville, and now known as "Hick's Spring" is noted on Cram's edition of La Tourette's *Map of Alabama*, 1856, as "Roupe's Big Spring," and the stream flowing from it is called "Roupe's Creek." On Sept. 17, 1819, at the Huntsville land sales he became the purchaser of a part of the East half of the Northwest quarter of Section 15, Township 20, Range 5 West, which evidently includes this spring. He may have resided here a year or two earlier. The lower end of Jones' Valley is even now called Roupe's Valley. The name is spelled "Rupe" in some of the older records. Nothing is known as to whence he came, or of his destination.

¹⁶Concerning the settlement of Jones' Valley, Mr. George Powell in his "History of Blount County," in *Trans. Ala. Hist. Society*, 1855, p. 38, says:

"The United States acquired a right to the country in August, 1814, yet the whites were not permitted to take general possession until 1816, when a Mr. Jones, and his brother-in-law, Caleb Friley, both of Madison County, were the first white men that settled permanently within our bounds. Mr. Jones located at Jonesborough, and gave his name to that village and to the valley in which it stands. Mr. Friley located at "Bearmeat Cabin," now Blountsville. These two men in the fall of 1816, brought the first wagon into Blount County."

Blount County was formed in 1818; and in 1819 the lower portion was erected into Jefferson.

The date of John Jones' arrival is evidently an error, as he was actually located in the county in 1815.

of the Cahawba.¹⁷ This is a handsome body of land. The only objection I have to settling here is that it is too far from trade and also, I think, the land is of too stiff and clayey a nature. I think also the range will not last long. The rocks in some places lie on the top of the ground, and in others very near.¹⁸ I think it would be very difficult to get wells in the valley on this account.

August the 30th, 1816. This morning, contrary to my expectations, Mr. Jones charged me nothing for a good supper of bread, butter and milk, nor for my bed. I got a good lodging, corn and fodder for my mare for 25 cents. I got considerable information from Mr. Jones concerning the navigation of the Black Warrior, as he was the first man that brought a boat up that river.¹⁹ It is counted one hundred miles from Mr. Jones to Ditto's Landing. Mr. Jones informs me that the Black War-

¹⁷ Centreville, Bibb Co.

¹⁸ Reference is here made to the lime rock exposure, and the splendid deposits of brown iron ore, boulders of which were scattered over the hill sides.

¹⁹ No detail being preserved of Mr. Jones' boat trip, an account of another, probably in the same year, is given. This was made by Mr. James O. Crump, a Huntsville merchant, and his letter descriptive of it is exceedingly interesting. It was communicated Dec. 6, 1816, to the *Alabama Republican*, and reprinted in the *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 9, 1817. He says:

"I have been requested to give you a memorandum of my late trip to Mobile, and the navigation of the Tombigbee, and (as far up as the falls of) the Black Warrior river. I left home about the 1st of September for Mobile, and on my way engaged with Captain Bacon to take charge of my boat, &c., which I procured at Mobile, drawing about two feet of water when loaded; at St. Stephens the cargo was completed of some articles that could not be purchased below. I accompanied the boat about eight miles, to see her safe over Megrois [McGrew] Shoals, a place said to be dangerous in passing over loaded boats, there was at that time a flood in the river, and we had little or no difficulty in getting through. Captain Bacon states that he was 20 days coming from Mobile to the falls of the Black Warrior, including 5 or 6 days of delay. The impediments in the rivers are trifling to such a boat as mine, which is about 35 feet in length. The cargo consisting of brown and Havana white sugars, coffee, rum, wine, oranges and a few dry goods, arrived at the falls in good order: two waggon (*sic*) loads of sugar, wine, coffee and oranges I brought to Huntsville; and it is remarkable that out of one thousand oranges not more than half a dozen spoiled. In eight days the waggons reached this place from the falls of the Black Warrior, over a road three-fifths of which is level and the balance not much broken; not more than three hills of consequence are recollected, and a four horse team can easily draw two thousand weight up either of them. There has been very little labor bestowed in cutting out the road, and I discovered that by turning it a little from its windings, it could be greatly improved; the distance I suppose from Huntsville to the falls of the Black Warrior is about 120 miles. It is evident the distance can be much shortened by straightening (*sic*) the road."

rior is not susceptible of navigation by large boats or even a pirogue, except in the winter or spring season. Night. Twenty miles is all I have travelled to-day. I came late in the evening to Nations²⁰ where I got fodder and [word illegible] for the mare, and supper and bed without charge. He is hospitable. I should like to have it in my power to recompense him.

August the 31st, 1816. I travelled to-day, I suppose, nearly 30 miles. I came this day to the two forks of the Black Warrior²¹—came, I suppose, near three miles and camped.

September the first. I came this day within ten miles of Deposit and camped. I am more troubled with the gnats and mosquitoes than I have ever been since I started. I can scarcely sleep for them. I mean to cross at Deposit.²²

September 2nd. I suffered more last night—[The two concluding pages of the Diary are lost, and the last page has this abrupt ending.]

²⁰This was evidently Joseph Nations, Jr., (son of Joseph and Nellie Nations) an early settler near the present Boyle's Gap on the Louisville and Nashville R. R., Northwest from Birmingham. His wife was Phoebe Barton. They came from Tenn. Among other children they had Elizabeth, who married Williamson Hawkins, and from them spring the numerous and highly respected family of that name in Jefferson County. About 1830 Joseph Nations and wife removed to Miss.

²¹This refers to the junction of the Little Warrior and the Locust Fork, and can hardly be the same place as that crossed on Aug. 20th.

²²This point, a few miles down the Tennessee river from Guntersville, was erected into "a defensive depot" in Oct., 1813, by Gen. Andrew Jackson, and called Fort Deposite.—Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. ii, p. 294.

XIII. THE VISIT OF PRESIDENT JAMES MONROE TO ALABAMA TERRITORY, JUNE 1, 1819.

INTRODUCTION. BY THE EDITOR.

President Monroe had been inaugurated but a few months when, on the 2nd of June, 1817, he started from Baltimore upon a tour of the North and West, which lasted three and a half months. Two years later he made a tour of the South, and reaching Augusta, Ga., turned westward, passing Huntsville, Nashville, Louisville and Lexington. With the declared object, as indicated below, "of examining the situation of the fortifications," etc., these journeys served the additional purpose of softening party asperities, and of bringing the Chief Magistrate of the Nation face to face with the yeomanry of the country, thereby stimulating a patriotic spirit and also popularizing his administration.

A presidential "jaunt" of this day is no novelty. Eighty years ago, however, it was an event of significance and long to be remembered. The appearance of the President and party in the "remote and humble village" of Huntsville must indeed have been hailed with joy. It was not altogether without its spectacular features; and the events connected with his stay are preserved in circumstantial detail by the local journalist. This account as it is illustrative of the social side of life at this early period, as well as breathing a healthy and elevated tone of genuine patriotism, is thought to be worthy of better preservation, than in an inaccessible newspaper file. It is taken from the *St. Stephens Halcyon*, June 28, 1819, reprinted from the *Alabama Republican*, Huntsville, Saturday, June 5, 1819.

"ARRIVAL OF THE PRESIDENT.

On Tuesday last the President of the United States with Mr. Gouverneur his private Secretary and Lieut. Monroe of the Army, very unexpectedly arrived in Huntsville, and put up at the Inn. No intimation of his intention to visit our town had been received by any individual in it; but the citizens solicitous

to show their respect to the Chief Magistrate of the Union, appointed a committee to wait upon his Excellency and invite him to a public dinner on which occasion C. C. Clay, Esq., addressed him nearly in the following words :

Sir : In behalf of the citizens of Huntsville, we have the honor to wait upon your excellency, and to communicate the joy with which we hail the arrival of the Chief Magistrate of the nation, in our remote and humble village. Be assured, sir, we duly appreciate the motives which have prompted you to a repetition of the labors we have already seen you perform in the North, by your visit to the Southern portion of the United States. We are sensible of the great advantage of adding practical observation to that extensive information, which we have before seen so happily illustrated.

Permit us to congratulate you on the general tranquillity and prosperity which have prevailed, and on the valuable acquisition of territory which has been made, in our vicinity, under your enlightened administration. We assure you, that we contemplate with feelings of national pride the happy result of a policy founded in principle, and which has for its sole object the exaltation of our country. If, sir, your time and convenience will permit, we should be happy to give you some feeble testimony of our respect and affection, and to have the honor of your Excellency's company at a public dinner, on to-morrow.

To which the President answered in substance, that, he had undertaken the task of visiting different portions of the United States, more particularly with a view of examining the situation of the fortifications and of selecting suitable sites to be put in a state of defence against foreign aggression, in the event of a future war, which he was happy to say, there was no immediate prospect of; that he conceived it the duty of the chief magistrate of the Union to acquaint himself with a knowledge of the interior country over which he presided, and as far as was practicable to ascertain the state of society, and of improvement in agriculture, manufactures, &c., and also to enquire into the condition of the Indian tribes which were dispersed through the western portion of the Union. In pursuance of these views he had made his former tour and now intended to continue as far West as his other official engagements would permit. He stated it was necessary for him to return to Washington by the 15th of July, when it

was probable the Spanish treaty ceding the Floridas to the United States would be received, at which time his presence at the seat of government would be indispensable. He congratulated the committee, on the acquisition of the Floridas which he deemed so essential to the future security of this territory from Indian hostility in that quarter; and concluded by accepting the invitation to dinner.

On Wednesday at 4 o'clock, the President and suite, together with more than one hundred of the most respectable citizens of Madison County, sat down to a sumptuous entertainment prepared by Capt. Toby Jones, at which Col. LeRoy Pope acted as President, assisted by C. C. Clay and Henry Minor, Esqrs., as Vice-Presidents. After the cloth was removed the following sentiments were drank, accompanied by the discharge of cannon, and appropriate songs.

TOASTS.

1. *Our Country.*—She has proved that man is not incapable of self-government; may her example have its influence throughout the world.

2. *The Constitution of the United States.*—A legitimate form of government, instituted by express compact, and supported by the affections of the people.

3. The Memory of Washington.

4. *The Heroes and Sages of the Revolution.*—Many "have gone to the abodes of more than mortal freedom"; the survivors will be sustained in their declining years, by a grateful country.

5. *The Memories of Those Who Fell in the Late War.*—They preserved the Independence their sires had won.

6. *Our Distinguished Guest.*—We rejoice that he lives to dispense the blessings which flow from the achievements in which he participated. His country will never forget the man whose life has been so successfully devoted to her service.

After this toast was drank, the President rose and returned thanks to the company for their kind expressions toward him.

7. *The 8th of January, 1815.*—As disgraceful to our enemy, as glorious to our country.

8. *Major Gen. Andrew Jackson.*—He knows his duty to his country, and performs it with energy and fidelity.

9. *General John Coffee*.—As long as we remember the 8th of January, we cannot forget the 23d of Dec'r.

10. *Our Navy*.—Hercules in the cradle strangled the serpent.

11. *The Army of the United States*.—A specimen of our resources, when called forth by a necessary defence of our right.

12. *The Militia of the United States*.—Freemen, who defend their homes and firesides, will be invincible when their energies are directed by military science and discipline.

13. *The Late Treaty With Spain*.—It finishes the work begun by the acquisition of Louisiana.

14. *Agriculture, Commerce and Manufactures*.—The sources of national and individual prosperity.

15. *Education*.—A wise and liberal policy has laid the foundation on which it may flourish in our future State.

16. *Thomas Jefferson and James Madison*.—Their names are identified with the virtue and talents of their country.

17. *Franklin, Rittenhouse and Fulton*.—The science and arts of the civilized world will perpetuate their fame—man has not degenerated in the Western Hemisphere.

18. *The Memory of Lawrence*.—Let his last words be our motto in the hour of danger.

19. *The People of the Territories West of the Mississippi*.—When their numbers entitle them, may they be admitted into the Union, with no other restrictions, than those prescribed by the Constitution.

20. *The Friends of Freedom in South America*.—Struggling as we have done, may they become as we are.

21. *Our Fair Country Women*.—They feel the glow of patriotism, in common with those who defend them.

By the President of the United States:

The Territory of Alabama.—May her speedy admission into the Union advance her happiness, and augment the national strength and prosperity.

By the President of the day:

John Adams, of Braintree.—The firm and active patriot, during the struggle for our Independence.

By C. C. Clay, Esq.:

Public Sentiment.—The best shield of merit.

The company rose from the table about sunset, highly delighted with the entertainment they had received and the oppor-

tunity they had enjoyed of demonstrating their great regard and affection for Mr. Monroe, who now appeared to them more like a plain citizen than the Chief Magistrate of a great nation. The unostentatious manners of this truly great man are eminently calculated to endear him to everybody, and more particularly to those who had associated ideas of reverential fear, with human exaltation.

The President left this town on the ensuing day, 3d inst., for Nashville, and was escorted by a number of respectable citizens several miles of his way; the whole company being on horseback he conversed freely with those who were nearest him, and after exchanging the most cordial expressions of respect and good will separated from them, with but a faint prospect of ever meeting many of them again.

XIV. EARLY HISTORY OF MONROE COUNTY, ALABAMA.

BY THOMAS M. OWEN.

Mississippi Territory was created by Act of Congress, April 7, 1798, and on March 1, 1817, an Enabling Act was passed for the admission of the Western part (Mississippi) as a State. During the existence of the Territory seven counties were created in the Alabama portion as follows, viz:

Washington, by proclamation, June 4, 1800;
Madison, by proclamation, Dec. 13, 1808;
Baldwin, by Legislative Act, Dec. 21, 1809;
Clarke, by Legislative Act, Dec. 10, 1812;
Mobile, by proclamation, Aug. 1, 1812;
Monroe, by proclamation, June 29, 1815; and
Montgomery, by Legislative Act, Dec. 6, 1816.

With these seven counties, Alabama Territory was created by Act of Congress March 3, 1817, this act to be in force on Aug. 15, 1817, the date of adoption of the Constitution of Mississippi.

Monroe County embraced all the lands ceded by the Creeks, Aug. 9, 1814. At the date of the proclamation the settled part lay along the east side of the Alabama river. All the rest was an unknown and undefined region. On Dec. 9, 1815, the Legislature named Fort Claiborne as the place for holding courts. Terms for the Superior and County Courts were provided. The large influx of settlers in the upper section of the county in the vicinity of Fort Jackson, caused the establishment of Montgomery County a little more than a year later. At the same time these counties were allowed one member each in the House of Representatives; but as this was the last session of the Mississippi Territorial Legislature, neither county was ever represented in that body.

I. "A PROCLAMATION."¹

"WHEREAS, By a treaty entered into by Major Gen'l Andrew

¹So far as is known this Proclamation has never before been printed.
(159)

Jackson, on the part of the United States, with the Chiefs, Deputies and Warriors of the Creek Nation on the 9th day August 1814, the title of the said Creek Nation has been extinguished to a certain tract of Country lying within this Territory. And Whereas it is essential to the preservation of good order, and to prevent the laws of the Territory from being infringed with impunity, that the Jurisdiction of the civil officers thereof should be extended over the said tract of Country.

"THEREFORE, KNOW YE, That by virtue of the powers in me vested as Governor of the Mississippi Territory, I do hereby erect all that tract of Country² to which the Indian title was extinguished by the treaty aforesaid into a County, and do hereby order and declare that the said County shall be called and known by the name of Monroe, and I do further declare, the Laws of the Mississippi Territory, and the Ordinances and Acts of Congress relative thereto, are in force within the said County.

"AND MOREOVER I do enjoin the Inhabitants of the said County of Monroe, to be obedient to the laws, and to respect the rights that have been secured to the Creek Nation of Indians by the treaty aforesaid.

"IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have caused the seal of the Mississippi Territory to be hereunto affixed, and signed the same with my hand.

[L. s.] Done at the Town of Washington,³ the twenty-ninth day of June A. D. one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, and in the thirty-ninth year of the Independence of the United States of America.

DAVID HOLMES."

It is not contained either in Turner's *Statutes of Mississippi Territory*, or in Toulmin's *Laws of Alabama* (1823). The latter expressly refers to his effort and failure to secure a transcript. This copy, with the list of officials, is from the manuscript collections of the editor.

²"It originally embraced the lands ceded by the Muscogeans at the treaty of Fort Jackson; that is to say, all the country east of the ridge dividing the waters of the Alabama and Cahaba from the Tombigbee (*sic*) and Tuskaloosa rivers; South of the mountains of Blount and St. Clair; North of the present Southern boundary line of the State, and West of the Coosa and the line Southwest from Wetumka to a point below Eufaula; or nearly half of the present area of the State."—Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 433. He states the date of the proclamation erroneously. For full text of the treaty of cession at Fort Jackson, see U. S. Stat. at Large, vol. vii, pp. 120-122.

³This was the Territorial capital, situated six miles east of Natchez.

II. "NAMES OF THE PERSONS APPOINTED TO OFFICE WITHIN THE MISS. TY. IN THE SIX MONTHS ENDING 31ST DEC., 1815."

For Monroe County.

George Fisher, ⁴ Sheriff.	}	Justices of the Quorum.
John H. McConnell,		
Wm. K. Ross,		
Elijah Lumsden,		
Wm. Bates,		
David Files. ⁵	}	Justices of the peace.
Theophilus Powell,		
John G. Haydon,		
Isaac Ross, ⁶		
Lewis Sanders,		
Wm. Stewart,		
Joseph Carter,		
Jno. Canterbury,		
John Mahon,		
Henry S. Rivers.		
Abel Farrer, ⁷ Clerk of the County Court.		
Sam'l Dale, Collector of Taxes.		
Wm. Shober, Coroner.		
Sam. Waddy, {	}	Constables.
Wm. Johnson. {		
Sam'l Dale, Lt. Col. of 20th Regt., Miss. Ty. Militia.		

⁴ See Foot Note 21 to Miss Welsh's paper on St. Stephens, *infra*.

⁵ David Files was an early settler, his sister, Sarah, being the wife of Capt. Evan Austill and the mother of Jeremiah Austill, one of the heroes of the "Canoe Fight." He was at one time a quartermaster in the army; and was commissioned first U. S. Marshall in Ala., May 13, 1820, in which year he died.

⁶ Isaac was the son of John and Temperance (*Ferrill*) Ross, of Martin and Franklin Counties, N. C., and a brother of Jack Ferrill Ross, Territorial Treasurer of Alabama.

⁷ See references to him in the sketch of the town of Jackson, appended to Justus Wyman's paper, *supra*.

XV. THE CREEK INDIAN WAR OF 1836.¹

BY JOHN ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

723 ST. PAUL STREET BALTIMORE, Oct. 18, 1887.

My Dear Sir: I have been attending the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Mrs. Gaines, and have not replied to your letter of the 10th inst. My first appearance in the world of politics was in connection with your inquiries about the Creek war.

The Indian Territory in the State was east of Montgomery County and the difficulty arose, in the vicinity of my county of residence (Montgomery). The troubles came from the intrusion of the whites upon the Indians. The treaties provided against the intrusions.

The Indian treaty in 1832 provided for a reservation to Indians, of age, and to heads of families. A reservation might be sold by a reservee with the supervision and approval of an Agent appointed at Washington. The practice gave rise to the term "stealing lands."

The agent is corrupt. He certifies any *Indian* to be the Reservee, who is produced to be the Reservee. He hears the evidence of the value; the payment of the price to the Indian in his presence; and the making of the certificate of a fair sale. The Indian is paid in bank notes before the Certifying Agent, who makes an elaborate protocol. The Indian is carried out of sight, surrenders the bank-notes to the purchaser, and receives whiskey, a few pieces of silver or calico. The reserve is sold. Col. J. B. Hogan was appointed to examine this and his report was true, and shockingly true. Men of respectable rank were incriminated and none doubted the veracity of his report made in 1836. The Indians were expelled from their lands and there was a supreme interest to drive them from the country to shelter the wrong-

¹These two letters have been contributed by Mrs. W. C. Stubbs, New Orleans, La., from the MS. collections of her grandfather, the late Hon. James E. Saunders, of Courtland, Ala.

doers from detection. The privations, poverty, persecution of intruders and squatters had driven the Indians to despair.

They were famished, miserable and so pillagers—guilty of petty thefts. They burnt houses, stopped mails, they were disorderly, unruly and injurious. Simply they were in the way. The speculators desired them to be removed to Arkansas, so that they might realize the fruits of the frauds. When the disorders had attracted sufficient importance, the State Governments of Georgia and Alabama intervened for the purpose of repression.

I was attending the United States Court at Mobile in 1836 when there came statements that the Indian tribes were in arms 18 miles from Montgomery (where I resided) and the people were all called upon for service. I hurried home, and found the town under martial law from some extempore dictator. Gov. Clay had just arrived with a bilious fever of a high type proceeding from fatigue, exposure and hard and exciting work. I went to see him and found him delirious from fever. I became at once his aid-de-camp by his order. He told me of his arrangements. He had called for troops for service. Above 1,500 men were to arrive within a few days at Montgomery. His contingent fund was \$2,000. The Bank required drafts on Mobile or New Orleans—two endorsers and acceptance. McLoskey, Hogan & Co.—Mr. R. Hallett, Henry Goldthwait Tosleta and Ballard and others indemnified the bank. The commissariat was provided for and when the officers of the United States did come, they relieved it.

Governor Clay, tho' sick, was courageous, intelligent, considerate and entirely competent to every duty.²

His troops came and were supplied. He transferred me to the staff of General Patterson as Adjutant General. The town of Tuskegee was the place for organization and arrangement. Governor Clay went thus far, the interview with the Indian chiefs was at Montgomery. Opotheleyoholo with great energy described the wrongs of his tribe and said they were in despair. The tribe was friendly and wanted no war. That he would join his men with cries to put down a war. That only some despairing Indians were disposed to have war. At Tuskegee General

²Mr. Pickett, *History of Alabama*, vol. ii, p. 422, has an appreciative review of these events in the administration of Governor Clay.

Jesup of the regular army of the United States came from Columbus, Ga., through the Indian country with an escort of Georgia Cavalry. It was regarded as a very heroic achievement. He had been assigned to the command of this war. Governor Clay then returned to his official duties as Governor.

General Jesup brought a staff of three regular officers. An army was collected from the Tennessee Valley and the northern counties—all mounted men.

General Jesup moved promptly to find the *enemy*. They were in the counties of Barbour and Russell along the Cowikees, two streams swollen by rivers and difficult of passage. We moved and occupied the opposite side of the Cowikees. When we reached the Cowikees, we were reinforced at the Cowikees with 1,600 friendly Indians. Opothleyoholo had fulfilled his engagement to Governor Clay.

Just at this date General Jesup received an order from General Scott, commander of the army, to suspend all operations and report to him personally at Columbus, Ga. Gen. Jesup was much enraged and went to Columbus at once.

The same night our friend Opothleyoholo with Captain Walker, an Indian Country man, with I don't know how many Indian wives, Barent Dubose, the son-in-law of Tustenugee Thlucco, otherwise Big Warrior, with others while I went crossed the Cowikees and interviewed the tribes, and promised them that if they would come to us quietly, when there was an old gun in their hands, a better gun should be given, that corn, corn-meal, bacon, bread should be served. That calico clothes should be furnished to the ladies in the hostile branch and we would fight any who would harm them.

Next day I was deputed to receive them. They were led by the Blind King riding on a pony. Shriveled and blind, I inquired of him his age. His answer was, four generations of persons, had been born and grown and passed away and he was here yet. The care of him was reverential and adoring. I concluded from his statement that his earliest days were in Georgia about the junction of Upton Creek. This, I suppose, would make him a neighbor of yours.

There were in the arms of some of the women pickaninnies born within a day of the date.

The creeks were swollen and the weather rainy and we set off to return to Tuskegee. The war in Alabama was ended. General Jesup was amazed to find that all questions of all kinds were settled. So far as I ever knew, not an Indian nor a white man ever received a scar in this tempestuous war. I never heard of a shot at them. We did not have a casualty of any sort. When we returned to Tuskegee General Jesup proposed to return us to enable him to retain our annexations and to send them across the Mississippi. We consulted them and they complained bitterly. A committee of the Alabama troops, informed General J. they would not be so employed. He gracefully acknowledged the propriety of this course.

I fear I shall have tired you. If so pardon me.

Very truly yours,

JOHN A. CAMPBELL.

[No date.]

My Dear Sir: I have sent you a statement of the so-called Creek War. It occurred in 1836 and was magnified without any regard to the truth. The purpose seemed to be to furnish opportunities for expense, and to drive the Indians to emigrate to the place appointed across the Mississippi. The hostile Indians surrendered were about 700 all told. The tribe removed, commencing in the autumn of the year 1836, and without serious difficulty.

Before General Jesup left he arranged the troubles with the fraudulent purchasers from the Indians. The titles to those lands repose on that settlement.

The speculators made great efforts in Congress to have it cancelled and enlisted some of the State representatives.

John Quincy Adams read it and said that if there was ever an honest contract made it was that one. This silenced opposition in Congress.

In 1835 when the troubles commenced, a deputation of the tribe came to me at Montgomery to get me to go over the nation and to see what was the matter with them. They could not tell what to do.

Opothleyoholo sent to me his son, who had been educated at a Government school to educate Indians, under charge of Col.

Richard M. Johnson. This boy was named for Col. Johnson. He was the perfection of manly beauty, then about 19.

I was gone several weeks. The objects of affection with the Indians were the squaw and the pony. All their affections were governed with them. The jobbers assailed them with arrest of the squaw and seizures of the pony.

You would be amused with the remedy.

The law of Alabama prohibited the arrest of a woman for any civil cause. Every family was entitled to one horse, as exempt from seizure.

The thieves were aghast because the Sheriff was responsible for an illegal arrest. These occur to me and I send them as incidents occurring in our time and forming part of our history.

I hope I shall not have exhausted you.

HON. J. E. SANDERS,
Courtland.

Very truly yours,
J. A. CAMPBELL.

XVI. BURR'S CONSPIRACY.¹

INTRODUCTION. BY THE EDITOR.

Burr's Conspiracy, or attempt at Western dismemberment of the Union, will always prove of absorbing interest, both to the student and general reader. Although it may seem, in the light of subsequent disclosures, that the excitement in the public mind was out of all proportion to the real dangers, yet the distinguished character of the chief actor, the influential names now known to have had knowledge of his plans, some of whom even gave them countenance, and the new and unsettled condition of the Western country in which the picturesque and tragic largely entered, render the events, from its mysterious inception to its dramatic end, both entertaining and instructive. The local annalist views them as connecting his particular field with the current of broad history. The passing of time, too, adds an ever increasing interest to the minute details and the episodes forming a part of great occurrences.

The spectacle of a former Vice-President, a great lawyer and a noted political leader, suddenly arrested and arraigned at the bar of the chief tribunal of the Mississippi Territory, must have excited an impressive sentiment. The people were face to face with the charge of treason. Mr. Burr reached the town of Washington, Miss. Territory, on Jan. 18, 1807; he was arraigned Feb. 2nd, and Feb. 4th he disappeared. The Governor's proclamation, the capture in the sparsely settled sections of what is now South Alabama, the long journey to Richmond, and the spectacular trial, with its conflicting emotions, its brilliant array of noble names, and its excited passions, quickly followed.

The series of documents presented below, never before printed,

¹The story of the conspiracy is told most fully in Parton's *Life of Burr*. For a full summary of all of the literature of the subject, as well as of Burr's career generally, see Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. vii, pp. 337-341, and notes. See also Claiborne's *Mississippi*, pp. 277-294.

indicate how profoundly the people were moved. Rumors of his approach on the Mississippi had preceded him, and in the letter of Mr. Dinsmore to Col. McKee, the ludicrous side of the whole situation is given in a spirit of grim humor. The conduct of Judge Toulmin on the occasion of the arraignment at Natchez is an episode altogether unnoticed in current histories. He was evidently in the town on business, or else was attracted thither by an intelligent interest in passing events. At any rate he evinces a promptness, decision and courage in behalf of the government, apparently quite necessary at the time. Whatever comments or observations may be made on his actions in this episode it may be said of him that he was fearless and upright in the performance of his official duty at all times, and if he fell into error it grew out of mistaken judgment. The letter of Mr. Claiborne, Governor of the Territory of Orleans, is of value as illustrating his view of the "not inconsiderable" conspiracy, and also of the obligations thought by him due Gen. Wilkinson for his "prompt and energetic measures." In Mr. Hawkins' communication to Gen. Henry Dearborn some idea can be obtained of what may appear the excessive zeal and meddlesome conduct of officials, as well as of the annoyances to which travellers were subjected at this early period.

These documents, received from different sources, are taken from the manuscript collections of the editor.

I. SILAS DINSMORE² TO COL. JOHN MCKEE.³

Natchez 7th January 1807

Dear Stoogeestee,⁴ I wish you a happy New Year though

²Silas Dinsmore was born in Windham, N. H., Sept. 26, 1766, of Scotch-Irish parents. He entered the army as a Lieut. of Engineers, June 2, 1794, but resigned July 17, the same year. Coming South he entered the Indian service, in which he did faithful work. On May 30, 1819, Thomas Freeman named him as his principal deputy surveyor for the District East of the Island of Orleans. Long afterward he removed to Bellevue, Ky., where he died June 17, 1847. He was "a man of versatility of gifts, of marked ability," and full of dry humor. The latter disposition is shown in the above letter.

³Col. John McKee, born in Rockbridge County, Va., in 1767, was an early pioneer of the old South-West. As Choctaw Indian Agent, it was largely due to his influence that this tribe joined the settlers in the Creek War, 1812-14. He came to Tuscaloosa in 1810. He was in Congress from the Middle Alabama District, 1823-29; and died Aug. 11, 1832, in Greene County.

⁴This was an Indian nickname, as is also the name signed to the letter.

you don't deserve it for I wrote to you more than two weeks ago & you care no more for me than you would for your grandmother. We are all in a flurry here hourly expecting Colonel Burr & all Kentucky & half of Tennessee at his [back] to punish General Wilkinson, set the negroes free, Rob the banks & take Mexico. Come & help me to laugh at the fun. Love to Mitchell,⁵ if you know where he is

Adios

Silas or Yona

Address on outside:

"Colonel John McKee

"Reynolds | Chickasaws"

II. JUDGE HARRY TOULMIN⁶ TO CAPT. P. P. SCHUYLER.⁷

Washington Town⁸

Saturday Evening 10 o'clock

Feb^y 7th 1807.

Dear Sir,

The mail is just come in and whilst it is opening, I write a line to you to State our Situation here; the Court met last Monday, Judges Rodney and Bruin.⁹ The jury was impanelled and Judge Rodney charged them as to M^r. Burr. Tuesday the attorney General¹⁰ stated his opinion that the Court and (sic) [had] no Jurisdiction, not being a Court of the description alluded to in the Act of Congress giving Federal Jurisdiction to Territorial Courts, and moved that the Jury might be discharged. Judge Rodney did not expect this motion and differed as to the jurisdic-

⁵This was Samuel Mitchell, at this date the Chickasaw Indian Agent. See Claiborne's *Mississippi*, pp. 182 n, 232.

⁶Harry Toulmin was the Judge of the Superior Court for the District of Washington (now in Alabama), to which position he was appointed Nov. 22, 1804. He filled this high office with great ability until the admission of the State of Alabama in 1819. He died in 1824. See Claiborne, p. 309, *note*; Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 575; Lynch's *Bench and Bar of Miss.*, pp. 21-2; Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. ii, 204-5; and Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*, p. 345. These sketches are silent as to this episode in his career.

⁷Peter Philip Schuyler, a member of the New York family of the name, entered the army as an ensign July 10, 1797, and passed through successive grades to the position of adjutant general (rank of colonel). He was captain commandant at Fort Stoddert, 1804-1807, and was evidently well known to Judge Toulmin.

⁸Territorial Capital of Mississippi.

⁹See Claiborne, pp. 283-4.

¹⁰George Poindexter.

tion of the Court. Judge Bruin was against the Discharge, unless the *recognizances* were also discharged. The Jury retired, & next day brought in a Presentment in favor of Burr and against the conduct of the Territorial Government. Thursday I informed the Governor¹¹ that as the Business had taken so unfortunate a turn, I thought it was time for me to act, especially as Judge Rodney appeared unwilling to take any further part in the Business.

I examined the papers and some other testimony and issued a warrant for Mr. Burr, Blennerhasset, Fløyd¹² and Ralston. Burr had fled. \$2,000 were offered for him and persons were sent in every direction. I suppose He is still in the neighborhood, or gone to Pensacola. There was a Spanish officer from that place with him here lately. Blennerhasset and the other two have been brought before me. I wait to see Doct^r Carmichael¹³ before I fully commit them. He will probably be here to-morrow. I am uncertain at present where to lay the offences and of Course have not determined to what District to send them. I think Burr will be found. I am, Dear Sir, in great haste,

Yours Sincerely

(Signed) Harry Toulmin.

Capt. P. P. Schuyler.

III. JUDGE HARRY TOULMIN TO CAPT. P. P. SCHUYLER.

Town of Washington, Sunday
15th Feb'y 1807.

Dear Sir,

You will no doubt wonder to find me still here, and I hope, would have written to me had you any idea of my continuing at this place; but I shall expect to receive from you when I get home, a full statement of the posture of public affairs at New Orleans, in payment of the three Scrawls I have sent you from this town. I have been detained here entirely by the state of things as it respects Mr. Burr and his men, though I flatter myself that all danger is over. But I wished to see justice getting

¹¹ Robert Williams, third Governor of the Territory.

¹² This was David Floyd, subsequently indicted for treason by the Federal grand jury at Richmond.

¹³ Dr. John F. Carmichael, of New Jersey, had been in the army as a surgeon's mate and surgeon from 1789 to 1804, when he resigned. See Claiborne, p. 362, *note*, for anecdote.

into a regular course before I retired. I have felt much embarrassment as to the place to which I should send the accused persons for trial—not upon legal grounds; for the (sic) could be tried anywhere between the places they sat out from and New Orleans, as the overt acts, on which they must be indicted, might be laid in any State or Territory where they have been, or through which they have passed with preparations for their expedition. But I had great doubts on the point of expediency; for in the first place a public officer should aim at having everything so regulated, as to ensure a full development of the truth and administration of substantial justice; and in the next place, he should consider it as a sacred duty, not unnecessarily to harass the accused; and between these two leading principles, it was difficult under present circumstances, to balance evils and advantages. However, I have committed Harmon (sic) Blannerhasset, an English Gentleman, living on the O'Hio, for the State of Virginia, where he resided, and *where all the substantial testimony which will fix illegal intentions upon him is to be found*. This, however, is considered a most flagrant outrage, because his wife and children are here; and here it is alleged he ought to have been tried, though a prosecution against him carried on here, must of necessity terminate in an idle parade.

Floyd and Ralston, on the other hand, wish to be tried in Kentucky & Indiana, for there they live, & can produce it seems, the testimony of Judge Davis, that *he saw a letter from the Secretary of War*, countenancing this expedition of Burr, as a measure secretly favored by Government. But as the evidence of their intention is to be found *here*, in the testimony of Doctor Carmichael and the testimony of Judge Davis, if they had it would not acquit them, I have committed them for trial in the Mississippi Territory, before a Court of Oyer and terminer, to be *summoned specially for the purpose* by the Governor, and which, I have no doubt will have full Jurisdiction under the Act of Congress. As to Tyler¹⁴ I am going to examine him to-day. At present, I am much at a loss about him, but am strongly inclined to think him entirely innocent.

Burr is still in concealment, but I fully expect that he will

¹⁴This was Comfort Tyler, also indicted for treason by the Federal grand jury at Richmond.

make his appearance in a day or two. Blannerhasset, I find, throws out great threats against me, if a Revolution should take place; and others of the Party are pleased to say that I am altogether the tool of General Wilkinson—though I never saw him, nor ever had any communication with him, and have always expressed a disapprobation of some of his acts, but do not feel myself disposed to indulge in all the invective of party Virulence, nor to lay on him all the blame for illegal acts, in which other men of high responsibility must have been participators, and which indeed, may have higher sanctions than we are at present aware of.

I think I shall start toward home to-day; but the fact is, I feel restless that the fate of Mr. Burr should remain undecided. The three persons whom I have committed have procured a Writ of Habeas Corpus. Yours &c.,

(Signed) H. Toulmin.

No address.

Endorsements: "From Judge Toulmin to | Cap^t. Schuyler."

IV. GOV. WM. C. C. CLAIBORNE¹⁵ TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.¹⁶

New Orleans

March 3^d 1807.

Sir,

Lieut. Gaines¹⁷ of Fort Stoddard, has arrested Burr, and forwarded him under an escort, to the City of Washington, where

¹⁵Mr. Claiborne was Governor of the Territory of Orleans. This letter indicates his "joy at the defeat of" the Burr conspiracy, and his view of the conduct of Gen. James Wilkinson. Claiborne's *Mississippi*, p. 254, says in reference to the scenes enacted at New Orleans, growing out of the same difficulties, that Governor Claiborne "coöperated with General Wilkinson zealously in putting New Orleans in a position of security during the Burr excitement, but persistently refused his demand for the impressment of sailors, the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus, the arrest of suspected persons, without proper affidavits, and the declaration of martial law." Martin's *History of Louisiana* presents a different view.

¹⁶This was Hon. James Madison.

¹⁷Lieutenant, afterwards General E. P. Gaines was the successor of Capt. Schuyler at Fort Stoddert. Pickett's *Alabama*, pp. 213-31, gives the fullest account of the arrest and conveyance to Richmond. The facts of the capture are also given in a series of twelve original letters and documents, belonging to Nicholas Perkins, Esq., one of the guard, but now the property of the Tennessee Historical Society. They are printed in the *American Historical Magazine*, Nashville, Tenn., April, 1896, pp. 140-153.

the subtle Traitor, will I trust meet the punishment due his crimes.

I find that much censure is attached to the measures of General Wilkinson by some Members of Congress, and that the Machinations of Burr, are by them, considered as of little moment; I however, as an American Citizen, devoted to my Country and Government cannot but express my joy, at the defeat of a Conspiracy, (and not an inconsiderable one) which had for its primary object the dismemberment of the American Union; and whatever may be said to the contrary, I shall never cease to think, that the prompt and energetic measures of General Wilkinson, have given security to this City and Territory,

I am Sir,

with respect & esteem
yo: hble serv^t

William C. C. Claiborne.

P. S. I have the pleasure to inform you that M^r Graham¹⁸ has this day arrived.

W. C. C. C.

The Sec^y of State.

Address:

"The Honorable

The Secretary of State
Washington City."

Endorsements: "March 3, 1807 | Governor Claiborne | rec^d.
Ap^l. 26, 1807."

L. S. Fol. p. 1.

V. JUDGE HARRY TOULMIN TO HON. JAMES MADISON.

Fort Stoddert, 14th April 1807

Dear Sir,

I wrote to you about a fortnight ago and transmitted to you a statement of an examination which had taken place in this county of a young gentleman who had been in the employ of M^r. Burr and came hither to meet him. It did not appear to me at that

¹⁸It appears that John Graham, Secretary of the Territory of Orleans was in Washington when the excitement was at its height, and that he was at once dispatched South to notify the Governors of the situation and to obtain information of Burr's movements. He had at this date reached New Orleans. See McMaster's *History of the United States*, vol. iii, p. 67; and Claiborne, p. 293.

time that there was any ground for making any further enquiry relating to him. But a letter partly in the German language which has been sent to this place by Gen^l Wilkinson, together with some other circumstances seemed to render it proper that he should undergo a further examination. The result of this examination I have now the honor of transmitting to you. There does not appear to me to be any reason for suspecting that the conduct of Mr. Willie¹⁹ has been in any manner criminal: and the opportunity I have enjoyed of a few days intercourse with him, impresses me with a very favourable opinion of his disposition and character. His testimony may be important by way of establishing the authenticity of the letter which is annexed to his examination, particularly so, if through any other channel a key should be obtained to the cypher. As to this point I do not believe that he can afford any assistance. Gen^l. Wilkinson has sent Mr. Milliken on, to accompany him to the seat of government. I have little doubt that he is fully disposed of himself to appear before the proper judicial authorities; but as it is possible that he might in the meantime fall in with persons who might be disposed to divert him from his purpose; I do not think it superfluous altogether that Mr. M. should accompany him: and he has accordingly joined in the recognizance.

The recognizance, indeed, is somewhat informal: but as I know not before what court Mr. Burr will be tried, I could not render it more strictly regular, and as for the same reason I cannot be aware who will be the prosecuting counsel; I could not devise any other method of having the intention of the law complied with;—but by taking the liberty of addressing the papers to you, fully persuaded that you will be so kind as to direct them into their proper channel.

I have likewise inclosed memorandums of some other depositions: as I thought it possible that they might point out to the public prosecutor the quarters from which some links which might be necessary, perhaps, in the chain of evidence, might be procured.

I have felt a curiosity to ascertain by a comparison of circumstances what Mr. Burr's real objects were after he absconded from the town of Washington: but it is not easy to form any

¹⁹ See Claiborne, p. 280, note.

satisfactory conjectures. I learn from Mr. Willie that he applied to him to set out for Tombigbee about the time that he sent the note by Dr. Cummins'²⁰ negro, to the people in his boats, requesting them to be ready with their arms the following night. His friends say that this note was only a sham to draw the attention of the Governor of the territory to a wrong quarter,—and they mention the circumstance of the negro being furnished with Mr. Burr's great coat and horse. But I never understood that it was Mr. Burr's coat that the negro had,—and as to the horse it was mentioned [by] them merely as being a horse that Mr. Burr had ridden, and perhaps not frequently. If it had been intended that the note should be found,—I think it very improbable that it would have been on so very small a bit of paper and concealed so carefully in the cape of the coat. By the way, he *borrowed* a great coat from one of his friends,—the night he went away. Nor can I think it probable that he would *endanger* his partizans so much as to write *such a note* to them with the intention of its being found,—and in order to facilitate his own escape. Nor does it appear that the device was calculated to answer the alleged object of inducing a false pursuit,—or that he acted so as to give it this effect. It was calculated to lead the governor to believe that he was at the house of Dr. Cummins,—and he sent there accordingly:—and if I am not greatly mistaken,—the officer who went, reported that Mr. Burr had not left Dr. C's more than two hours before his arrival. Upon the whole therefore I am inclined to think, that, as Mr. Willie was directed to come to this settlement,—*that* was Mr. Burr's object when he wrote the intercepted note,—and that he meant to prevail on his partizans to take the same route,—calculating that the people of this county would eagerly flock to his standard, that they could then immediately take possession of Mobile,—or, (if he really had an intrigue with the Spanish officers), appear in a position sufficiently respectable to induce them to pursue the same course of conduct as it had been concerted that they should pursue, if agreeably to the original plan, he had obtained possession of Batton (sic) Rouge.

These conjectures however, all of no intrinsic importance,—

²⁰ See reference in Mr. Hawkins' letter to Gen. Dearborn, following this.

being a mere hypothesis to account for facts,—which time, perhaps, may unravel in a manner much more satisfactory: I ought to apologize, indeed, for troubling you with them. They will not, I hope, be considered as derogating from that respect, with which I have the honour to be

dear sir

your most obed^t ser^t

Harry Toulmin.

Address:

“To the Hon^{ble} James Madison
Secretary of State.”

Endorsements: “Toulmin Harry | April 14th 1807.”

VI. COL. BENJAMIN HAWKINS²¹ TO HON. HENRY DEARBORN.

Tookaubatchee²² 14th Sept^r. 1807

Yesterday arrived at this place a Doct^r John Cumins²³ of the Mississippi Territory, accompanied by William Smith who is believed here to be an honest man and had a pass from the Governor of that Territory, the former had no pass, said he was Subpoenaed on the part of the U. States to attend the court now sitting (sic) on the State trials at Richmond and to attend on the third of this month, but had no copy of the Subpoena. I had received information that the Doct^r abeted criminal designs attributed to Col^o Burr, and was most likely in possession of a large packet which would throw considerable light on their designs,—I communicated what I had learned to the doct^r. I told him as he came without a pass or a copy of the Subpoena, he must submit his papers to my inspection. He replied “he had no papers of Col^o. Burr and only a number of private letters, from his neighbors which he was carrying to their friends, on his way, and a large packet from M^{rs}. Blannerhasset for M^r. Blanner-

²¹ Col. Benjamin Hawkins was at this date, and had been for a long time, the Creek Indian Agent. He was from Warren Co., N. C., and died in 1816. Gen. Thomas Woodward in his *Reminiscences*, p. 7, says:

“I knew Col. Hawkins well. He knew more about Indians and Indian history, and early settlements and expeditions of the several European nations that undertook to settle colonies in the South and Southwest, than all the men that ever have or will make a scrape of a pen upon the subject.”

²² This was the chief town and capital of the Upper Creeks, and was situated on the Tallapoosa River.

²³ See note 20, *supra*.

hasset now in confinement on a presentment for High treason,— This packet was sewed up in canvass, the superscription rubed off & the whole had been under water, when a canoe was overset in Coosa river carrying over his baggage. The contents he knew not." I gave him a penknife he opened the packet, we dried it, and I took from the letter book the extracts, I now enclose, & returned the packet to the Doct'. These three letters were all which were entered within this year or since 1801 and I saw nothing else which had any relation to the subjects under trial at Richmond.

I am very respectfully

Sir y^r. ob Sert

Benjamin Hawkins

The Honble

Henry Dearborn

Secy. at War

Address:

"The Honble Free"

Henry Dearborn

Sec^y at War

City of Washington"

Endorsements: "Tookaubatchee | Sep: 14th 1807 | Benjamin Hawkins." |

Across the end are the words:

"The President of the United States."

XVII. TALES OF PERSONAL ADVENTURE—RECOLLECTIONS OF INCIDENTS IN THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.

By JOHN WITHERSPOON DUBOSE,¹ of Birmingham.

“Blessed be the Lord, who teacheth my hands to fight and my fingers to war,” saith the poet of Israel. The mother-bosom of American institutions contains nothing that it nurses so warmly as the militia. Strict construction, loose construction, reconstruction, come and pass, but the militia only gets better.

Thus it is that tales of personal adventure and daring within the memory of men still living, and which illustrate the fortitude and endurance of militiamen in events of extreme trial become lessons of virtue in the life of the republic.

Upon the streets of Birmingham often has been observed an old man with flowing white beard driving a yoke of oxen, raised by himself, to a wooden-axle wagon made by himself. His home is in Blount County, and his name is Murphy. He sells many heads of chickens in the year by retail to housekeepers of the city. Murphy had a brother and a son who were heroes in the war. When the war was about half through, both sides were busy getting recruits in Blount County. Sympathizers with either side wreaked revenge deep and bloody on the other. Murphy's brother was an active recruiter for General P. D. Roddy, the Confederate. He held a meeting and delivered a speech for his cause, and shortly afterward he was waylaid by Unionists and shot to death on the highway. Roddy heard of the murder, promptly sent a squad of cavalry into the neighborhood, and soon five Unionists of Blount County were found hanging by the necks to limbs in the immediate vicinity of the murder.

The old wagoner had two children, a son some 18 years old and a daughter somewhat younger. The boy went off at the

¹For sketch of Mr. DuBose, see Teeple and Smith's *Jefferson County* (1887), pp. 413-14. He is the author of the admirable *Life of Yancey*, one of the most intensely interesting political studies of the decade.

outset with the Nineteenth Alabama infantry, Joseph Wheeler, Colonel. In the desperate battle of Atlanta he was color bearer. Two fingers of the hand which held the flag-staff were torn away. This boy in butternut jeans, woven by his mother at home, changed the flag-staff to the other hand but never turned his face from the foe. Steady he stood until, reeling from loss of blood, a comrade seized the colors and the color-bearer was taken to the rear permanently crippled for his life's work—and pensionless.

* * * * *

When General Sawyer, of the United States Army, occupied Huntsville, Ala., he came with written orders, a copy now before me, from General Sherman, then at Vicksburg, to subdue the southern spirit there at all cost, even to hanging men and women! Under treatment authorized by this order Clement Comer Clay, once the Governor of Alabama, a justice of the State Supreme Court, and a Senator in Congress in his career, died. There were many other deaths from like causes. In charge of an Episcopal congregation at Huntsville was an aged clergyman, Rev. Mr. Robertson, father of the distinguished educator and valuable citizen, Prof. Samuel L. Robertson, of Birmingham. The ritual required the clergy to pray for the President of the Confederate States. Mr. Robertson obeyed the ritual. For this the commanding officer seized him and consigned him to the common jail, then unwarmed, in bitter winter time. No extra clothing or bed clothing was permitted him. For three weeks he survived the authorized attempt to kill him. At the end of this time he was taken ten miles to Whitesburg, on the Tennessee river. The guard arrived with the prisoner late in the afternoon of a very cold day. It was decided to lock him in a chicken house on the bank of the river for the night. The soldiers betook themselves to the comforts of the mansion hard by. They did not expect the venerable priest to survive the night. At daylight the guard walked out. Seeing their approach and resolved to emphasize their destined disappointment, Mr. Robertson from his perch in the chicken house sent forth the healthy chancier's notes of morning; "Cuck-a-doo-dle-d-o-o!" Outdone, the soldiers placed him in a canoe on the river, hurried him over the broad stream to the friendless bank opposite, and with a warning that his life would be the penalty of his return to Huntsville.

All this time the clergyman's sons were riding with Wheeler, typical militiamen.

* * * * *

But all southern men were not true to the cause. When the territory of the confederacy had been much narrowed and the prospects of success darkened, some very desperate characters showed themselves in the homes of the people.

R. C. Bradley, later a valued citizen of Birmingham, was clerk of the Circuit Court of Marion County, Ala., when General Lee surrendered, April 9, 1865. Mr. Bradley was a young man at home that night at the residence of the tax collector of the county, Thomas B. Smith. Neither officer was liable to military duty. Bradley had retired and fallen asleep, dreaming of his best girl, Miss Sally Gurley, in whose society he had spent the early evening. He was aroused abruptly to discover that three men, one of the number in United States uniform, had entered the house and rudely taken possession. He found the leader of the gang to be Alexander Cheney, an old playmate and school fellow of his childhood. Cheney had become a well-known robber and murderer. He did not, however, recognize Bradley, and the fact probably saved Bradley from instant death.

Old trunks and boxes were pulled out into the middle of the floor from under the beds. The jeans fresh from the loom under the shed was appropriated. Two silver watches hanging on the wall changed owners without further formality. The corn whiskey in the smoke-house, distilled at home, was freely consumed. The marauders tied up in a home-made blanket their various captures and prepared to depart. Smith, the tax collector, was called on for the public money. He had none in his keeping. Captain Cheney doubted the collector's report and set his house on fire as a test, the wife of the collector being then in bed confined with rheumatism. The public money failing to appear, the captain reconsidered and extinguished the blaze he had kindled.

* * * * *

Bradley was duly ordered to take up the line of march to camp. He put on his good coat, but, at command of Captain Cheney, he took it off to replace it with the captain's round-about, the captain taking the coat for himself. The new owner was highly

pleased with the coat. He was pleased, too, with Bradley's hat, which had been made by old man Wellett at Pikeville, the county seat. Finally the table was spread and the cold viands in the house consumed by the robbers, after which the home-made cups and saucers were forced into their overcoat pockets. The march began, the three robbers behind driving Bradley and a negro man they found in Smith's employment.

The trail led to John Wilson's house. Arrived there, the band forced Bradley at peril of his life to ask admission. Wilson arose from his bed and opened the door. Captain Cheney, one of his pals, John Green, and Bradley, their prisoner, walked in. Wilson had recently been discharged from the home guards, over-aged, and the home guards had offended Cheney's gang of Tories by their operations against them.

Standing about the room were Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, Captain Cheney holding a big revolver, John Green carrying his Enfield rifle, and Bradley. Bradley sat on the edge of a bed. In the corner behind the bed he espied a double-barrelled shotgun at rest. Adroitly he seized the gun, sprang to his feet and sent the contents of one barrel into Captain Cheney's bosom. Turning upon Green, he pulled the trigger on the other barrel, but no explosion followed. Only one barrel was loaded. Captain Cheney instantly sprang out into the darkness, followed by Green. "You missed him, my boy," exclaimed Wilson. "No; I hit him," returned Bradley.

The gun was hastily reloaded inside. The imprisoned inmates of the house waited in silence and anxiety fifteen minutes. Bradley then called out, "Morris," in a loud voice. The negro captive answered from beneath the house. Morris reported the robbers all fled. Bradley and Wilson ventured out. Captain Cheney's dead body lay thirty feet from the door, where he had fallen. Green and the other Cheney brother had fled afoot as they came.

* * * * *

Bradley removed his new coat from Captain Cheney's lifeless form and was glad to see it had been little damaged. As day broke, the news spread and the whole community started in search of the two escaped robbers. They lived twelve miles away in the fork of Sipsev river and Buttahatchie creek. The

first pause was made at Captain Cheney's house, where upon search, various stolen articles were found, the property of his neighbors. John Green was found the next day hidden in a cotton pen. On April 12, three days after the capture of Bradley, Green was hung, in the presence of a large crowd, near Detroit. Meantime the body of Captain Cheney had been thrown, without coffin, into a hole at the base of a fallen oak and hastily covered from view. Green's remains were interred in the same fashion.

Search for the living Cheney, the third robber, continued. It was now May 25, and paroles from United States military officers were in order. John Wilson and others were in the provost marshal's office at Columbus, Miss., on this business. Who should walk in but Cheney, the third robber. Wilson then and there explained who Cheney was. The provost instantly summoned a squad of United States cavalry, put Cheney in their charge and ordered them to convey the prisoner to Detroit, Marion County, Ala. At that town on May 28, George Cheney was hung in the presence of hundreds of people and his body was thrown in the hole with Green's.

* * * * *

While the search for George Cheney proceeded after the death of Captain Cheney and Green, Bradley encountered an adventure perilous in itself, but of quite another character than the affair with the robbers.

Bradley, in the course of his travels on horseback, arrived at the ferry over Buttahatchie and hailed for the flat boat on the other side. A boy and girl answered, tied their skiff to the end of the boat and came across. On the way back again Bradley talked to the boy, Tate, in knowledge of the suspected sympathy of his father with Cheney. The boy did not know Bradley. The waters were swollen, great freshets prevailed. The flat boat reached an island and the boy insisted he was not strong enough to carry it across the raging current to the shore, but he would fasten the boat there, take his sister in the skiff and send his father from the mill near by to ferry the traveler and the horse over.

After long waiting in vain for a ferryman and some ineffectual efforts to land himself and horse, Bradley was startled by a call

from the shore to surrender. Turning his gaze that way he was met by the countenances of several men he knew, and who were his friends, all armed with guns bearing on him. They denied that they knew him. "Dick Bradley!" shouted the arrested man. Instant recognition followed and the explanation was that the boy ferryman had reported a tory passenger to his father.

These were some of the incidents omitted by the "histories" from the greatest struggle of all time, the war between the north and south.

XVIII. LETTERS FROM GEORGE STROTHER GAINES
RELATING TO EVENTS IN SOUTH ALA-
BAMA, 1805-1814.¹

INTRODUCTION. BY THE EDITOR.

The light thrown by the letters given below on one of the most thrilling periods of the history of Alabama, emphasizes the great value of such historical "raw" material. Mr. George S. Gaines, the writer, came to Alabama in the Spring of 1805 and was in the government service as Indian factor at St. Stephens, and later in the present Sumter County, from this time until the admission of the State. He was thrown intimately with all of the leading characters of the South-West, and took an active part in all public affairs.

Students have recognized the value of Mr. Gaines' recollections of events during this period of his life, and Mr. Pickett, Alabama's leading historian, took notes of interviews with him, which are now in the possession of the editor. Mr. Gaines' official papers seem to have been destroyed, as will appear from his letters to Mr. Pickett.

On July 27, 1847, he wrote:

"I write you now merely to say that I will with pleasure furnish you with such materials, as may be in my recollection, for your history of Alabama. I kept no journal of events; and my correspondence whilst U. S. Factor, was turned over to my successor after my resignation."

And again, Sept. 28, 1847, he wrote:

"All the public Indian trading houses, then called U. S. Fac-

¹George S. Gaines, son of James Gaines (a revolutionary soldier), and his wife, Elizabeth Strother, was born in 1784, in Stokes Co., N. C. A short sketch of Mr. Gaines is in Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 393. See *Memorial Record of Alabama*, vol. ii, pp. 538-9, for sketch of his grandson, Dr. Vivian P. Gaines, son of George W. Gaines. A genealogy of the Strother family, showing Pendleton, Dabney, Gaines and other connections is to be found in the *Publications of the Southern History Association*, April, 1898, pp. 149-173. See also *U. S. Magazine and Democratic Review*, June, 1848, p. 550; *Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution*, vol. ii, pp. 494-5, for revolutionary service of James Gaines.

tories, were abolished by Act of Congress in 1821, and the books and papers of the Choctaw Factory fell into the hands of Col. W. Ward then Choctaw Agent and after the removal of the Indians and (the first sales of lands thereabouts) the agency house became public property and I am told the books and papers of the trading house, left in it, have supplied bonnet paper and wrapping paper to the neighborhood ever since.

"It would be accidental to find anything of value in such a wreck.

"The public offices in Washington, if the papers were not burned, could furnish you much valuable material for your history on the correspondence of the U. S. Agent and Factors from 1800 to 1825."

In Mr. Dillard's paper on the "Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty," *supra*, acknowledgment is made for valuable facts furnished by Mr. Gaines.

Mr. Gaines died in 1873 at State Line, Miss. In the summer of 1871, at the request of Percy Walker, Esq., he prepared his "Reminiscences of Early Times in the Mississippi Territory," which were by Mr. Walker presented to the Franklin Society, of Mobile. These were published in the *Mobile Register*, June 19, 27, July 3, 10, and 17, 1872, and reprinted in part in the *Alabama Historical Reporter*, Tuscaloosa, May, 1884, vol. ii.

Copies of the Pickett Notes, the letters below, and the Reminiscences are in the collection of the editor.

I.

Natchez Ap^l 12 1805.

Dear James

I arrived here two days since and shall be detained here four or five days waiting for the company of Mr. Silas Dinsmore² agent to the Choctaw Indians who is going immediately on to Fort Stoddert. I should not have waited so long in so good a place to spend money had I not been almost pressed by some gentlemen here who I had friendly letters to from some of my

²See note 2 to "Tarr's Conspiracy," *supra*, for sketch of Mr. Dinsmore. Mr. Dinsmore on his trip took preliminary steps looking to the treaty finally entered into at Mount Dexter, Nov. 16, 1805.

friends in Cumberland. God knows how I shall support myself in so extravagant a circle as I am in at present. \$2 p^r day barely pays my boarding. Providence, I suppose will provide for me. The Small Pox is very bad in New Orleans. I yesterday was enoculated with the vaccine matter. I have some hopes it will prevent the others taking effect. I had a very agreeable passage to this place. I had the good fortune to meet with Capt. Sparks,³ and spent the greater part of my time with him and lady. I might say I never spent a few weeks so agreeably in my life had I not been troubled a little with the ague and fever which is not yet entirely left me. God bless you Adieu

Geo S Gaines

Address:

Natchez, Apr. 12 25"

James T. Gaines

Rossville

Tennessee"

Folio; pp. 2. Autograph Letter Signed.

II.

St Stephens M. T.

March 5th 1809.

Dear James

I had begun to think that you were not in existence or that some untoward circumstances had caused your mind to be as useless as if you were not, when I a few days ago recvd^d a letter from Edmund enclosing one from our father announcing your marriage on which (I hope) happy event I now give you my most hearty congratulations and forgive you your past sins.⁴

The letter from father is the only one recvd^d from Tennessee for several months past. If more has been written I suppose

³Captain, later Colonel Richard Sparks, is said by Claiborne to have been a ward of Tecumseh. He entered the army in 1791 as a captain, and served under Gen. St. Clair. In 1801 he was stationed in the Mississippi Territory, and subsequently served in the Southern country until his death, July 1, 1815. His wife was Ruth, the second daughter of Gen. John Sevier.—Gardner's *Dictionary of the Army* (1853), p. 420; and Claiborne's *Mississippi*, p. 221, note.

⁴The wife of James Taylor Gaines was Fannie Rodgers, probably a kinswoman of Thomas A. Rodgers, mentioned in note 22, *infra*.

they went with the mail lost betwixt Knoxville and this place about six weeks ago.⁵

I have not enjoyed very good health for the last five months owing I believe, in a great measure to close confinement to business and much difficulty in its execution which did not agree with my weak head. I did intend to ask leave to visit Tennessee this Spring and will do it should the political storm which has so long been gathering over our head disperse, but little hopes of such an event is entertained by the wise ones here. It is believed that the Tomahawk buried by our fathers with the British has lain but unquietly and that altho' it has grown rusty under the earth it will have to be resumed—We are waiting with great anxiety to hear what has been done in Congress. In case of a war with G. B. we expect to have warm work here and should she land many Troops in the W. Floridas we shall not be disappointed, for the Creeks, a most powerful Nation of Indians, often express a partiality for the B. Government and one third of the Choctaws would be glad to have an opportunity of being troublesome to us. Surrounded as we will be by enemies on all sides we can only hope to save ourselves by gathering together in Forts & until we get help from Georgia Tennessee & Kentucky.⁶ The Spanish Government seem to apprehend hostilities from our's. They have lately stopped a vessel from N. Orleans bound to this House with 1002 Casks Gun powder and some Lead and have refused to permit it to pass.⁷

⁵By Act of Congress, March 3, 1805, a post road was established "From Knoxville in Tennessee to the Tombigby settlements in the Mississippi Territory, so as to intersect the post road from Athens, Georgia, to New Orleans." The mail was carried over this route once a month, leaving Knoxville the first Saturday in each month, with fourteen days allowed for going to, and fourteen days for returning from Fort Stoddert. The following points were passed: Knoxville, by Marysville, Tellico, Amoy River, Vanstown and Turkeytown. The Cherokees at the Tellico Blockhouse, Oct. 7, 1805, formally granted the right to establish the mail route.

⁶The observations contained in this paragraph are almost prophetic, as subsequent events disclose. The angry attitude of England, the visit of Tecumseh, the declaration of war, the stirring up of local hostilities, the horrible massacres and butcheries by the Creek Indians, and the coming of relief principally from the brave Tennesseans are awful realities clearly foreshadowed.

⁷The conduct of the Spaniards at Mobile respecting the navigation of the river was a constant source of irritation to the settlers on the Tombigbee and Tennessee, and led to numberless plans and schemes to drive them from the territory.

Edmund & his lovely wife are both well.⁸ I am sorry that the few moments I have to spare from my business will not allow me to write you more in detail.

I pray you kiss Mrs. G. once for me and say to her that she has a kind of a savage Brother that would be happy to see her.

I pray God to bless you both.

Y^{rs} affectionately,

Geo. S. Gaines.

Address:

"St Stephens M. T. Free"

March 5th 1809. Geo. S. Gaines

P. Master.

Mr. James Taylor Gaines,

Rossville,

Ten."

Folio; pp. 3. A. L. S.

III.

St Stephens M. T.

February 8th 1814

Dear James,

It is some time since I received yours in reply to my last. But so busy have I been in collecting the remnants of my crop⁹ & bringing up my public affairs, that I have not found time to write you.

We have so much confidence in you Tennesseans, that now that Jackson has actually begun to drub our cruel foes we feel ourselves tolerably safe, and I have declined sending my family to Tennessee for the present. To tell you the truth I have been so much injured by the war that at this moment I am not able to send off my family without selling property I do not wish to

⁸Gen. Edmund Pendleton Gaines, brother of George Strother and James Taylor Gaines, was married three times: (1) To Frances Toulmin (the one mentioned above), daughter of Judge Harry Toulmin; (2) Barbara Blount, daughter of Gov. Wm. Blount, of Tenn.; and (3) Mrs. Myra (Clark) Whitney, daughter of the "notorious" Daniel Clark.

⁹At this period, and even until the war, 1861, it was almost always customary for business and professional men to have a "farm," or "plantation," which were carried on in addition to their regular occupations. Here their slaves found employment; here farm and home supplies were produced, and here they expected to come after retirement, to enjoy the sweet charms and delights of country life.

part with. I trust that we shall be ready & able to visit you next Summer.

We have done but little as yet in this quarter towards subduing the Creeks. The enclosed paper has an account of our greatest battle—Col^o. Russell is now out on an expedition with from 6 to 700 men against the Cahawba towns.¹⁰ Col^o. McKee with 6 or 700 Chocktaw & Chickasaws are now on the Black Warrior river¹¹ in search of Muscogeas. They will do, I have no doubt, something handsome before they return. We expect the Tennessee & Georgia armies on, by this time, at the Hickory ground,¹² and that the Creek war will soon be over.

Should the Alabama lands fall into the hands of our Gov^t & I will not doubt it, you must come out & select you a tract of land & bring all our friends with you if possible. The Alabama will be the garden of America ere many years.¹³

My Ann¹⁴ joins me in love to you & your lady & to all enquiring friends.

God bless you all.

Geo. Strother Gaines.

Address:

“St Stephens Free George S. Gaines
James Taylor Gaines
Rossville Sullivan County Ten.”
Folio; pp. 2. A. L. S.

IV.

St Stephens M. T.
June 11th 1814.

Dear Sir:

Since the battle of the Horse Shoe,¹⁵ on Tallapoosa we have been in high spirits until yesterday when they fell at least 50 p^r

¹⁰Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. ii, pp. 326-8.

¹¹Pickett, vol. ii, p. 292, and Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 552, evidently following the former, put McKee's Black Warrior expedition in 1813. This statement corrects the date.

¹²The Hickory Ground is now in the Southern suburbs of the town of Wetumpka, and about four miles above old Fort Jackson, at Horse-Shoe Bend.

¹³The correspondence of the pioneers had much to do with inducing emigration to his, and others of the newer States.

¹⁴The wife of George S. Gaines was his cousin, Ann Gaines.

¹⁵The battle of the Horse-Shoe was fought March 27, 1814.

cent. I had been preparing for a trip to Tennessee to see my friends and Relations, and most of my neighbors had been as busy in devising and executing ways and means to make themselves as comfortable as they were before the war. But to-day we are all down in the mouth. For my part my expected furlough did not arrive & my neighbors have been alarmed by a report from Pensacola which I give you as I receive it.

Col^o Homer Virgil Milton¹⁶ is now our biggest (sic) war chief in this quarter. He sent Major Carson¹⁷ of the 3rd Reg^t. about ten days ago down to Pensacola with an invitation to McQueen¹⁸ and the other leaders of the war party, who had taken refuge in Pensacola, to meet him at Ft. Claiborne on the Alabama, on Thursday last to talk of peace. McQueen promised to come, but in the meantime a report reached Pensacola, that the British had landed 22,000 stand of arms, ammunition clothing &c at Appalachicola, for the Indians, that 300 troops had also been landed; that several thousand black troops were on their way from the W. Indies for the same place. McQueen and his leaders instead of making the peace talk with Col. Milton set out immediately towards (sic) Appalachicola.¹⁹

It is also reported that the Seminole and Uchee Indians were making preparations for war & that the Chickasaws & Choctaws had been sent for by the British at St. Marks. If all this be true we shall have even a warmer summer than the last.

¹⁶ He entered the military service from Georgia in 1808 as a major, and when he resigned, Nov. 30, 1814, he had attained the rank of colonel. He built Fort Decatur on the Tallapoosa, March, 1814.

¹⁷ Joseph Carson was an early lawyer, residing in the Tombigbee settlements. He was a colonel under Brig. Gen. Claiborne, and was distinguished in the battle of the Holy Ground, Dec. 23, 1813. See Pickett's *Alabama*, pp. 323-324.

¹⁸ This was Peter McQueen, who was at the head of the Indians in the Burnt Corn engagement, July 27, 1813.

¹⁹ Pickett says, vol. ii, pp. 353-4, based on *Indian Affairs* (American State Papers), vol. i, pp. 857-60:

"Colonel Hawkins [after the battle of the Horse Shoe] performed several trips to the Chattahoochie, and exerted himself to induce the wretched Creeks to surrender, and terminate a war which had proved so disastrous to them. But the British, at Pensacola, were endeavoring to rally them. Two vessels had anchored at the mouth of the Appalachicola, and had landed five thousand stand of arms and abundant ammunition, and three hundred British troops had commenced a fortification, under the command of a colonel. Runners were sent to all parts of the nation inviting the Indians to rush to that point for provisions and military supplies, and thither many of the Red Sticks repaired."

I think it very probable that the British have sent arms &c to the Indians; but I cannot believe they have or will shortly attempt to land troops in Florida, they can be better employed elsewhere. Four companies of the 3rd Reg under Lt Col. Russel started from Fort Claiborne up the Allabama in boats for the Hickory ground about a week ago. Yesterday Colo. Milton moved up by land with the ballance (sic) of his Reg^t. The 39th Reg. under Lt Col Benton,²⁰ has arrived at Mount Vernon near Fort Stodert where they wait for orders. The old 2nd Reg 400 or 500 strong has been stationed at Mobile Point for the last 13 months except one company at Mobile.

Mobile Point ²¹ is now breaking up by order of the Secretary of War (some say by the advice of Gen. Flournoy) & the 2nd Reg^t. with the Cannon &c are transporting to Mobile.

The Mobile people have petitioned Gen^l Pinkney to have the point held untill the Secretary of War can be prevailed upon to understand that it is the key to all the Mobile waters and if it is given up a petty British War Vessel might easily cut off all supplies from Orleans to the troops in this quarter. Whether the Gen^l. will interfear (sic) in this trifling matter (so unimportant to us poore devils) is with me very doubt full. Fort Claiborne is garrisoned with a few Militia.

The Bassets Creek settlers begin to fall back & the Muscogeas are killing stealing their corn &c

I have given you a hasty but I think pretty correct sketch of the situation of this part of the country. If I get a furlough by next mail & the foregoing reports should turn out groundless I may yet see you this Summer.

Your friend Tho^s. A. Rogers ²² is with me & well

God bless you, your lady & the rest of my relations & every body else

In great haste

Yours

Geo S Gaines

Ja^s T Gaines

²⁰ Later Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri.

²¹ See *Tr. s. Ala. Hist. Society*, 1897-98, pp. 172-7.

²² He was one of the delegates from Shelby Co., Ala., in the Constitutional Convention of 1819.

Address:

"St Stephens M. T. Free"

June 11.

Geo Gaines Post Master

James T. Gaines Esq

Rogersville

Hawkins Co^{ty}

Ten."

Folio; pp. 6. A. L. S.

PART II.—PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS OF THE SPANISH EVACUATION
CENTENNIAL.

ST. STEPHENS, ALABAMA, MAY 6, 1899.

(193)-194

I. REPORT OF THE SPANISH EVACUATION CENTENNIAL COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, appointed by the Hon. Joseph F. Johnston, President of the Society, as a committee "charged with the duty of providing for and conducting," "the celebration in May, 1899, of the one hundredth anniversary of the termination in May, 1799, of Spanish rule and occupation north of line 31 degrees north latitude, in what was then the Mississippi Territory, but now in the State of Alabama," have the honor to submit this report.

The plan to celebrate this anniversary grew out of a communication on the subject, made to the *Clarke County Democrat*, of May 12, 1898, by Rev. T. H. Ball, of Crown Point, Ind. Mr. Ball was long a resident of South Alabama, and is the author of *Clarke County, Alabama, and its Surroundings* (1882), a volume of considerable local interest and value. Our associate, Mr. Owen, June 2d, wrote to the same paper endorsing the proposition heartily. Other communications followed. In the meantime the suggestion was warmly favored by the *Mobile Register*, and the *Montgomery Advertiser*. So earnestly was Mr. Owen impressed with the patriotic character of the idea, and fearing that it would fail of accomplishment if not determinedly pushed by some organization, at the annual meeting of the Society, June 21, 1898, he secured the adoption of the resolutions under which the Committee have acted.

The appointment of a Committee was made, to take effect the 1st of January, 1899. In a few days a meeting was held at Mobile in the office of one of our associates, Mr. Hannis Taylor, at which there was a full and free discussion of plans.¹ The Committee were in unanimous agreement in deciding to place the general management of every feature of the celebration in the hands of the chairman, the several members to act under his direction in such way as he might indicate; and here his associates deem it proper to say that to him more than any one else

¹ Jan. 14, 1899.

is due its successful conclusion. The selection of time and place, the arrangement of the program, and the usual public announcements followed.

The celebration took place on May 6, 1899, in the precincts of historic Old St. Stephens, with a large and representative attendance. Invitations had been extended a number of distinguished persons, and letters of regret were received from those who were unable to attend, among them the following: Bishop R. H. Wilmer, Bishop E. P. Allen, Senator John T. Morgan, Judge Harry Toulmin, Hon. G. W. Taylor, Hon. H. D. Clayton, Hon. J. F. Stallings, and Hon. Oscar W. Underwood. The government was represented in the exercises, through the courtesy of the War and Treasury Departments. A full account of the proceedings, taken from the *Mobile Register*, and which as the Committee are informed, was prepared with care and accuracy, accompanies this report.

The addresses delivered and the papers read are also submitted herewith. The Committee made a strong effort to secure the preparation, by distinguished students, of papers on other topics of historical significance, touching the events and the times of this section of the State one hundred years ago, and although some were promised, for various reasons they have never been completed.

It gives the Committee pleasure to express the belief that the celebration has aroused a greater interest in the study and exploration of the history of the State, and that it has served to stimulate a greater pride in the events of its past. As expressing the local approval of the successful consummation of this event, the editorial comment of the *Mobile Register* of the day following, is given:

"The celebration at old St. Stephens yesterday was everything the projectors wished for. The day was fine, the attendance large, the exercises interesting and well befitting the importance of the event memorialized. Once again, after a lapse of many years, Old St. Stephens became the centre of interest to Alabamians; once again the thinkers and leaders of men gathered there; once again the glory of our Union was reflected upon that lovely spot. Our people are especially pleased that the United States Government paid fitting honor to the place and the day, by sending representatives of the army and of the treasury to

salute the flag as it was again unfurled over the old fort on the bluff. The affair was a success throughout—such a success as should inspire us to prepare for a celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Fort Louis de la Mobile in 1702, and of the founding of the city of Mobile in 1711.”

In conclusion the Committee desire to publicly express its appreciation of the honor of being selected to perform the duties imposed, and also to thank in a fitting way the local committees of the St. Stephens Historical Society, the citizens of St. Stephens, the press, the U. S. War and Treasury Departments, the steamboat management, the railway company, and many others whose names cannot be given, for numerous courtesies.

PETER J. HAMILTON, *Chairman,*
HANNIS TAYLOR,
E. L. RUSSELL,
T. G. BUSH,
THOMAS M. OWEN,

Committee.

II. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPANISH EVACUATION CENTENNIAL AT ST. STEPHENS, MAY 6, 1899.¹

THE EXCURSION.

The celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the taking possession of Fort St. Stephens by the American troops occurred yesterday at the old fort, near St. Stephens, Ala. Mobilians, especially Mr. P. J. Hamilton, had taken much interest in the proposed celebration, as did the people of St. Stephens and of the surrounding country. From Mobile came a large attendance of participants and spectators. A special was run by the Mobile and Birmingham Railroad Company to Jackson, where the steamer "Minnie Lee" took the excursionists and carried them to St. Stephens. Drago's Band furnished the music, and a detachment of Company I, of the First Artillery, United States Army, acted as escort, having been detailed for that purpose by Lieutenant Winston, commandant at Fort Morgan.

The train left the union depot at 9:45 o'clock and reached Jackson at about noon, stopping on the road to visit Ellicott's stone,² the mark of the boundary between the United States and the domain of Charles IV of Spain, established in April, 1799, at the line of latitude 31 degrees north. The stone is found on the hillside or slope, a short distance to the east of the railroad. It is of ferruginous sandstone and projects about two and a half feet from the ground, the top being broken in an irregular manner. The inscription is very clear, seeming as if carved yesterday instead of 100 years ago. Near at hand had been erected a pole bearing the American flag, which flag the band saluted with the air, "My Country 'Tis of Thee!" Mr. Hamilton made a brief address, translating the inscription on the stone and telling the history of the celebrated survey of the line between the

¹This account, with a few slight alterations and omissions, is reprinted from the *Mobile Register*, May 7, 1899. Notwithstanding its gossipy and news flavor, it is given in full owing to the very interesting character of the several events connected with the occasion.

²See Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*, for description and illustration.
(198)

Spanish possessions and the United States. The visitors returned then to the train and sped on their journey.

At Jackson a number of ladies and gentlemen joined the party, including a group of students from the Jackson College. The "Minnie Lee," under the charge of those capable river men, John Mobley, captain; John Finlayson, clerk; Green Verneuille, engineer; and James Walker, pilot, made speedily the voyage of nine miles up stream to St. Stephens. The bluff or landing at that point was crowded with people who waved hats and handkerchiefs as the boat moved in shore. The United States cutter "Winona" was already at hand and fired a salute of two guns in honor of the Mobile party. Captain Moore and officers were soon on shore to help welcome the visitors. The St. Stephens committee, headed by Judge J. B. Rawles and Mr. C. J. Coate, and supported by a number of gentlemen appointed to act as guides, were on hand and very soon every one felt at home in Washington County.

THE CELEBRATION

was arranged to take place in the old fort at the top of the bluff. Where the fort once stood is now a grove of cedars, pines and oaks, and on top of the chief bastion is a great cedar tree. At this bastion and under the shade of the cedar the stand for the speakers was placed. In front was an amphitheatre of benches, fashioned from saplings, supported upon forked stakes driven into the ground. In the outskirts were several refreshment stands, which did a lively business, and still further in the woods were to be seen the horses and vehicles of the populace, hitched to overhanging branches of the trees. To the eastward was the river, flowing calmly at the foot of the great bluff—unchanged in its aspect since many hundreds of years, the scene of many thrilling events of border warfare.

The day was in every respect delightful, the sun being warm but not uncomfortably so. The audience was clad in summer costumes, the ladies especially presenting a most charming picture to the eye. There was many a beauty of Washington County present. The photographer was also present, taking pictures which will no doubt be cherished as valuable souvenirs of an event unique in the history of St. Stephens.

Judge H. Austill, of Mobile, representing the ALABAMA HIS-

TORICAL SOCIETY, began the ceremony by calling the meeting to order, in the absence of William H. Ross, Esq., who was prevented by age from attending. There was a short prayer by Rev. J. W. Killough, of St. Stephens, and then the squad of the First Artillery fired a salute of twenty-one volleys, using their magazine rifles.

Hon. B. D. Turner, of the ST. STEPHENS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, pronounced "The Address of Welcome."

(See p. 202 for copy of address.)

There was music by the band, and then Judge Austill responded to the address of welcome.

(See p. 205 for copy of address.)

The chairman then introduced Hon. Hannis Taylor, the orator of the day.³ After a very graceful exordium, he devoted himself to an exposition of the history of the acquisition of this territory, and especially of Mobile, by the Americans. He explained the titles and how they were acquired, and elucidated the vexed question of the boundary of West Florida that was marked out by the American general with his sword. The speech was a very interesting one, and well delivered. In conclusion, Mr. Taylor referred in glowing terms to the presiding officer, a descendant who in every way kept alive in his person all the old and grand traditions of his ancestors. Mr. Taylor's tribute to Judge Austill was heartily applauded.

Mrs. M. H. Slaughter, of St. Stephens, then read a paper by Miss Mary Welsh, of Shuqualak, Miss., on "Reminiscences of Old St. Stephens." The reading, although long, was well done and listened to with interest.

(See p. 208 for copy of this paper.)

Mr. Hamilton, of Mobile, then addressed the assembly, the subject of his paper being "St. Stephens, Spanish Fort and American Town." It was clear that Mr. Hamilton, the historian of all this region, is very popular with the Washington County people. They gave him a rousing reception.

(See p. 227 for copy of this paper.)

In closing the exercises, the chairman, speaking for Mobile,

³Owing to professional and literary engagements, Mr. Taylor has been unable to furnish his address for publication. The formal title was "Spanish System of Colonization and Colony Government."

thanked the people of St. Stephens for the entertainment provided.

THE RAMBLE.

The sun was now seeking the western horizon, but the visitors, after they examined the old cave or magazine under the brow of the bluff, proceeded through the woods to Old St. Stephens, or rather to the spot where the old town once stood. Imagine a country road, curving in and out among the trees, and on either side, at some ten yards distant shallow excavations, bestrewed with stones and bricks, the old cellars of the stores and dwellings of St. Stephens facing what was once known as High street. Mr. Slaughter, who guided the writer, told all that is known of the sites. He showed where his mother was born, where the tavern stood and the location of the bank, etc. The ruins are overgrown with cedars and vines. An abundance of crepe myrtle bushes showed where the homes had been. Nothing substantial of the old town remains.

As the sun was setting, the revenue cutter Winona fired a national salute from her rapid-fire gun, and awoke the echoes of Bigbee valley as never before was done. The band on shore responded with the national anthem.

Then came the voyage home on the Minnie Lee. The cool evening breeze was thoroughly enjoyed. The run down to Jackson was one of the pleasantest features of the day.

VISIT TO JACKSON SPRING.

At Jackson the excursionists were met by Mr. W. L. Henderson, land and immigration agent of the Mobile and Birmingham road, who invited them to visit the famous white sulphur spring near Jackson. The invitation was accepted and the travellers boarding the train were taken northward a mile to the spring, where the quality of the water was thoroughly tested. Material improvements have been made, a spring house and park arranged, and steps are taken to have a hotel built on the hill near at hand. The bottling of the water is already a considerable industry at the spring.

At 7 o'clock the return journey from Jackson began and the tired travellers were safely landed in Mobile at 9.30 o'clock, all declaring they had had a splendid day with their friends of historic St. Stephens.

III. ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

BY BENJAMIN D. TURNER, of St. Stephens.

Ladies and Gentlemen, and Members of the Alabama Historical Society:

As a member of the "St. Stephens Historical Society," it has become my duty and also my pleasure to meet you here; to extend to you the hand of greeting, and speak to you some words of welcome.

This is indeed an historical old place, and this is a novel occasion. You have met here to celebrate an event which brought down the Spanish flag from the heights of this old fort, and hoisted in its stead the glorious Star Spangled Banner, which made this an American fortress, and which has waved over our State for a hundred years: the land of the free and the home of the brave. Yes, this is historic ground, within these old walls the Spanish pioneer with his family sought refuge from the savage bands which roved this country, and in later years the American pioneer sought refuge from the same barbarous enemy. Just behind me, so tradition runs, at the edge of the dizzy cliff, which overhangs the murky waters of the Tombigbee, two Indian lovers, rivals to the same hand, each trothed his love to one paramour. The tale runs that she loved them both, but demanded a pledge of affection. One, more anxious, and perhaps more truly devoted than the other, offered to take his chance with death in a leap from the frowning cliff, upon condition that, if he survived, the sought-for hand was to be his. Alas, poor Indian lover! Tradition goes no farther than to say, he took the fatal leap and was no more.

And later the sand at the base of this old bluff was watered by the tears of the best fathers and mothers of Washington County, when they said good-by to the boys who were starting for the bloody battle fields of Virginia, many of whom never returned. Just across two or three ravines to my left lies the city of Old St. Stephens. Dilapidated old walls and rock-lined cellars, the long-lived crepe myrtle and aged old chinas are there yet to tell

us where the old city was. The graves of the dead are scattered everywhere: over on the hill by the Academy, down in the valleys, here, there, and everywhere we find groups of lonely sleepers. All is decay and ruin. No one has been more curious than I to know something of the past of Old St. Stephens. There seems to hang over it a veil of forgetfulness; the oldest inhabitants can remember but little. It has been my fortune to frequent the paths that lead among the deserted walls and decaying relics. I have stopped in my wanderings; I have asked the rocks, rough-hewn and mossy, if they would not be my historians; I have visited the tombs of the dead, and read the epitaphs inscribed thereon, in order to satisfy my longing for information; I have stood by the majestic old oak that shades the town well, to see if I could gather from it some glimpse of the past, but alas, the answer is vague and unsatisfactory.

And, as I have pursued my wanderings, I have thought that "The Sweet Singer of the South," Father Ryan, must have been standing among sequestered relics when he penned those beautiful lines, "A Land without Ruins." Shall I repeat it? Alas, it tells the tale too truly.

"A land without ruins is a land without memories—a land without memories is a land without history. A land that wears a laurel crown may be fair to see; but twine a few sad cypress leaves around the brow of any land, and be that land barren, fruitless and bleak, it becomes lovely in its consecrated coronet of sorrow, and it wins the sympathy of the heart and of history. Crowns of roses fade—crowns of thorns endure—Calvaries and crucifixions take deepest hold of humanity—the triumphs of might are transient—they pass and are forgotten—sufferings and tears are graven deepest on the chronicle of nations.

* * * * *
 Yes, give me the land where the ruins are spread,
 And the living tread light on the hearts of the dead;

* * * * *
 Yes, give me the land that hath legends and lays
 That tell of the memories of long vanquished days;
 Yes, give me a land that hath story and song!
 Enshrine the strife of the right with the wrong!
 Yes, give me a land with a grave in each spot,
 And names in the graves that shall not be forgot;
 Yes, give me the land of the wreck and the tomb;
 There's glory in graves, there's grandeur in gloom,
 For out of the gloom future brightness is born,
 As after the night comes the sunshine of morn."

* * * * *

Old sleepers of seven decades! There are those who maintain that the living and the dead hold communion, spirit with

spirit. If this be true, we summons you to-day! Come and take part with us in this Centennial Celebration! We would strike hands with you in token of friendship and remembrance; but alas, you stand across the chasm—we cannot reach your hands. The prophet, who stood on the hill, and in prophetic inspiration consigned your old city to a habitation for owls and bats forever, was cruel and heartless. He gave you only the dark side of your future; he might have cheered you with the fact that these gloomy birds of the night should not be your only companions; he could have told you that in the dusk of the evening the notes of the whip-poor-will would cheer your lonely habitation; that in the early morning the sweet song of the oriole would wake you to the coming day; and yes, more than this, he might have told you that a thousand diamonds, reflected from the dew-drops that pendant upon the grass that grows upon your graves, would be seen and admired by the coming generations of your descendants; and, still more, that the Alabama Historical Society, aided by the St. Stephens Historical Society and their friends and your descendants, would meet here to-day to hold high carnival with you; and that the Historian would be here to write upon fresh pages of Alabama history, the unwritten past of you and your Old City.

IV. REMINISCENCES. RESPONSE TO THE ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

By HURIOSCO AUSTILL,¹ of Mobile.

Fellow Citizens: With much regret we have to announce that Maj. William H. Ross, of Mobile, who was born at St. Stephens, and who was to preside at this meeting, has not been well enough to make the trip. In his absence the gentlemen having charge of the proceedings have requested me to act as presiding officer. While feeling honored that they have called upon me to preside I accept with some reluctance. My mind is occupied with memories of a far distant past, as I stand upon this spot, and may not be as attentive to the duties of the position as a presiding officer should be.

Before introducing the speakers selected to address you upon the several historical subjects so appropriate to be considered and remembered on this occasion, you must pardon me for indulging in a few reminiscences of a personal nature. "Out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh." It is hard to realize that the silent spot where we are gathered, now covered with forest trees, with no evidence of former occupancy by man except the circular earth mound around us, was a busy place, with houses, hotels, a bank and military post. Yet such is the case. In the pioneer times of our ancestors who came to this part of the territory, St. Stephens was the most conspicuous settlement. The memory of its "pristine glory" is sacred to me. It was here that my maternal grandfather, Capt. John Eades, came to put his young daughter Margaret to school under the tutelage of Mr. D. H. Mayhew, who then presided over the St. Stephens Academy, the only school in this section. It was here that my paternal grandfather, Capt. Evan Austill, came to enter his boy

¹ For an extended personal sketch see *Memorial Record of Alabama* (1893), vol. ii, pp. 500; *portrait*. See also Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 178; Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. ii, p. 313, Ball's *Clarke County, Ala.* (1882), pp. 459; Halbert and Austill's *Creek War* (1895), pp. 229-240; and *Trans. Ala. Hist. Soc.*, 1897-98, vol. ii, pp. 97 n, 98 n, 119, and 161 n.

Jere as a clerk in the store of his uncle, John Files, who did a large business trading with the Red men.

It was here that these two young people first became acquainted, an acquaintance which in course of years ripened into a love that knew no ending. It was here that my father, as a clerk, first became acquainted with the great Choctaw chief, Pushmataha,² an acquaintance which ripened into a friendship that lasted as long as the chief lived.

Perhaps, it is not out of place for us to pause a moment in the proceedings and give a few words in memory of the pioneers whose feet once trod these sacred precincts. I see around me many descendants of those old heroes. Our memory of them should be sacredly kept. They blazed the paths through the primeval forests which have become public highways along which we travel with ease. They endured many hardships and braved many dangers in clearing the way for school houses, churches and civilization, which we now enjoy. We should not forget the pioneers.

"A dirge for the brave old pioneer!
Columbus of the land;
Who guided freedom's proud career
Beyond the conquer'd strand;
And gave her pilgrim sons a home
No monarch's steps profanes,
Free as the chainless winds that roam
Upon its boundless plains.

"A dirge for the brave old pioneer!
Hushed now his rifle's peal—
The dews of many a vanished year
Are on his rusted steel:
His horn and pouch lie mouldering
Upon the cabin door—
The deer rests by the salted spring
Nor flees the fierce wild boar.

"A dirge for the brave old pioneer!
A dirge for his old spouse!
For her who blest his forest cheer,
And kept his pine log house,
Now soundly by her chieftain may
The brave old dame sleep on,
The red man's step is far away,
The wolf's dread howl is gone."

Yes, "the Red man's step is far away," but we should remember with gratitude the Red men whose silent step once frequent-

²For sketch and bibliography, see *Trans. Ala. Hist. Soc.*, 1897-98, vol. ii, pp. 107-119.

ed this place. They were the Choctaw people who were the fast friends of the white pioneers. Yet the white pioneers, and the Red men, and old St. Stephens are all gone, but let us keep their memory as green as the leaves of the trees under which we are gathered.

After the Creek war and just before the hegira from St. Stephens, my father was standing one evening on Carney's Bluff, some fifteen miles below here, and saw the old Choctaw chief going down the river with a canoe loaded with skins of wild animals. St. Stephens was still the main trading post for the Indians. My father called out: "Pushmataha cutta musch minta," which meant, "Where are you going." He answered, "Mobila, ma la la," which was, "To Mobile, my friend." Old Pushmataha was the *avant courier*, for in a short time many of the citizens, and even the houses of St. Stephens, went floating down the Tombigbee to "Mobila ma la la."

I thank you for your attention. We will now proceed with the program as arranged.

V. REMINISCENCES OF OLD SAINT STEPHENS, OF MORE THAN SIXTY-FIVE YEARS AGO.¹

BY MISS MARY WELSH,² of Shuqualak, Miss.

I have been requested to write some reminiscences of Old St. Stephens. To this I am nothing loth. I heartily echo the sentiment "Old books to read, old friends to converse and (not) old wine to drink," but old scenes to visit. And truly, oftener than any other locality, I visit in loving memory the dear old town; for within and around it cluster the happiest, brightest recollections of my early childhood, which have not in the least been dimmed by the varied experiences of long subsequent life. The localities, events and people of the St. Stephens of more than sixty-five years ago are as present to my memory now as they ever were to my physical sight. They do not present themselves as I last saw them, just before the Civil War, when nothing of the old town remained but the rocks and hills and a few dilapidated houses; but as they were when I ran over those same hills in happy childhood with schoolmates, all of us as care-free as the robins that clustered in the many china trees and got drunk on their berries.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

My sources of information for the facts I shall narrate are these: My grandmother, Mrs. Tabitha Gordy, who came with

¹Read at the Centennial Celebration, May 6, 1899. It was published in four installments in the *Washington County News*, St. Stephens, May 25, and June 1, 8, and 15, 1899.

²Miss Mary Welsh, daughter of Capt. George Welsh (son of Wm. Welsh and Jane Thompson) and his wife, Sally Gordy (daughter of Elijah Gordy and Tabitha Melson), was born at St. Stephens, Nov. 9, 1823. The Welsh family is Irish, coming from Penn. to Buncombe Co., N. C., and thence to St. Stephens. The Gordys are of French origin, and came from Delaware to Clinton Co., Ga. In the thirties Miss Welsh's immediate family removed to Mississippi. Her "Reminiscences" give the facts of her early life. She has been a professional teacher, newspaper writer, and Assistant Superintendent of the Confederate Orphans' Home at Lauderdale Springs, Miss. After a long life of useful labor and effort, she now lives quietly at her home full of pleasing memories of men and things of "ye olden time" in the first settled regions of the State.

her little children—my mother, the oldest, about ten years of age—to St. Stephens in 1812 or 1813. She came from Georgia in company with and under the protection of Col. George Fisher, who was moving his family to St. Stephens, in the then Mississippi Territory. My father, George Welsh, a soldier in the War of 1812-15, who I learn from papers in my possession, enlisted at St. Stephens in a company of Mississippi Volunteers, Capt. Archibald Wells, in 1812, for twelve months; was honorably discharged in 1813 at Fort Claiborne; afterwards served for three months; married Sallie Gordy, daughter of Mrs. Tabitha Gordy, and settled at St. Stephens. From these two I learned many things that occurred, and the names of many citizens of the old town before my day and recollection. I was born there Nov. 9, 1823, and there spent the first ten years of my life. In the winter and spring of 1841 I spent several months there on a visit to my aunt, Mrs. James S. Malone, and my uncle, Elijah Humphries Gordy. In 1857 or 1858 I again visited them at new St. Stephens, and during the visit spent one day of sad, sweet pleasure in wandering about the places so dear to my heart. These, coupled with a few scraps of recorded history, are my sources of information. Small, it is true; but if I can contribute ever so little towards rescuing the old place from utter oblivion, or cheer the heart of any one who has ever had any ties there, I shall be happy to do it. So friends of the dear old town

"We'll have a word o' kindness yet,
For days o' auld lang syne."

SITUATION.

To begin with, the situation was an eligible one, at the head of the then navigation of Tombigbee river. Romantically beautiful or beautifully romantic, as you please, as may be seen yet. A pleasing succession of hill and dale, covered with immense forest trees and waving grass, blooming with native flowers and watered by numerous springs of purest crystal water bubbling up through sparkling sand, and fanned by gentle breezes from the historic Tombigbee, it promised a fair reward to the enterprise, energy and intelligence of the Americans who took possession upon the evacuation of Fort Saint Stephens by the Spaniards in 1799. They evidently thought so, for in 1807 lots were laid off near and around the old fort, and a town commenced,

which grew rapidly after the close of the war of 1812-15. Many wealthy people bought lots and erected residences; others settled around in the country. Large sums of money were invested; and in trades, professions and industries of all kinds it soon became the peer of any new city of the time. As to the limits of the town the ruins scattered here and there over the hills testify. It grew rapidly; but alas! alas! like many things of rapid growth it died young.

CAUSES FOR ITS DOWNFALL.

Several causes have been assigned for its death. Some attribute it to the extension of navigation to points above; this alone is not a sufficient reason, but it is usually coupled with an explanation as to the poverty of the surrounding country. Certainly the resources of the country had not then been developed, and the opening up of the river really did mark the beginning of its decline. Some affirm that it was owing to the unhealthfulness of the locality; and that may have operated to some extent. Others again assert that it was doomed on account of the Godlessness of the citizens.³ Well, in its palmy days it was a very gay place. I hope not so heinously wicked as some aver, but an exuberant, thoughtless gaiety pervaded all classes and conditions of society. A theater⁴ flourished, balls were frequent, and there was a prevailing indifference to anything that savored of religion. A few, doubtless, a very few, read their Bibles and sang hymns, but they were the exception. There never was a church building, nor even a church organization, in the town, nor for miles around it. There was no provision made for regular religious services of any kind. On rare occasions a minister would make an appointment there and preach, but always in a schoolroom or in some private residence that might be courte-

³This is the popular reason, but its specific ground or origin is unknown. The town was "doomed" before real order could be established. Protestantism was long in obtaining a hold in other parts of the State, as well as here. The real causes of its downfall are purely economic, and easily traceable. See West's *Methodism in Alabama* (1893), pp. 27-105; and Riley's *Baptists of Alabama* (1896), pp. 16-26.

⁴In the *Halcyon*, Jan. 18, 1819, there is an announcement that at the "New Theatre," Saturday evening next will be presented the comedy entitled "The Point of Honor," and the farce "Fortunes Frolic." The issue of May 17, 1819, states that the "Thespian Company" on May 24 will present "She Stoops to Conquer," to be followed by "the Tragic Burlesque Opera of 'Bombastes Furiosa.'" Admittance is \$1.00; performance begins promptly at 7:30 p. m.; and "smoking in the theatre [is] positively forbidden."

ously tendered him for the occasion. They were either Methodist or Baptist preachers. I recall the names of only two, Rev. Mr. Linson, Methodist, who early left the country, and Rev. William Shoemaker, Baptist, who lived in the hills not far away.⁵ I grieve to record this of my native place; it wounds my heart in its tenderest feelings; but truth requires it.

Now whether any one of these conditions caused the downfall of Old St. Stephens it is not my province to assert, but let me venture the opinion that all of them combined to produce the result; for all of them existed and they were certainly enough to kill any place. One cause of the desolate appearance of the town even in the early days of its decline was doubtless peculiar to St. Stephens, for scarcely any other people would have tolerated it. There was no demand for houses and lots in a town whose death knell had been sounded; so many of the owners just abandoned them when they left. Now and then, so the story goes, the citizens, presumably the younger and wilder element, would, in a spirit of reckless frolic, set fire at night to an abandoned house just for the fun of seeing it burn. Wanton fun truly! and a shameful waste of good material. But the owners made no protest, and they kept it up till they destroyed all abandoned wooden buildings. This accounts for no wooden material ever being found about the many cellars. It would have decayed in course of time it is true, but it never was present; the debris has always been brick and stone and glass.

CHARACTER OF BUILDINGS.

Judging from the character of the buildings, the early settlers had no anticipation of such a fate ever befalling the town. They seem to have been built for all time; mostly of brick or rock quarried from the hills near by in blocks smooth and white as marble; the foundations were laid and the cellars walled up of the same durable material.⁶ In one respect the expectations of the build-

⁵Mr. Linson removed to Clark Co., near Suggsville, and it is said, fell from his high calling. Mr. Shoemaker died in Washington Co. See Ball's *Clark County*, p. 347, for an amusing reference to the Shoemaker family, composed of 24 children, all of one mother.

⁶"The bluff at St. Stephens on the Tombigbee River about one hundred feet in height, exhibits both of the commonly occurring phases of the White Limestone, viz, the middle and lowermost. The uppermost 70 feet of this bluff consists of the soft white limestone which is extensively quarried for building chimneys."—Smith and Johnston's *Tertiary and Cretaceous Strata of the Tuscaloosa, Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers* (1883), p. 22.

ers have not been disappointed; the massive ruins will doubtless remain through all future years, testifying to the wealth, enterprise and public spirit of the founders of Old St. Stephens. Many of the houses were furnished off with a half story, with dormer windows; but the customary hall through the center—such a necessary feature in a southern climate—was absent. I remember no house in town and but one in the country that had this comfortable feature. Many of the business houses had rooms in the rear and above the stores for family use.⁷

Streets were paved with the same durable material, brick and stone. Coming up from the river about a half-mile from the landing a street turned to the north and formed the principal thoroughfare of the town; the one that longest survived desolation. In 1857 this street was still open, marked by the ruins of houses and shaded by the old china trees. Now for a little episode. Near the northern end of the town a road diverged from it leading through a beautiful glade always pleasant to travel. It was a lovely spot, but it contained the one horror of my childhood.

The grave of a suicide unmarked, abandoned by all except the singing birds, the waving grass and the shadowing trees. But it possessed a wierd attraction for us—the school children. To the glamour that hung over the deserted grave was added the horror of the deed itself. We did not call it suicide; that word was not in our vocabulary; to us he was “the man that killed himself,” and that expressed to us the horror of death and murder combined. This was not the nearest way to our homes, nor the only pretty play place in the vicinity, but we frequented the spot drawn by the irresistible attraction that all such places have for children. Such a deliciously eerie feeling would creep over us as we entered the glade; for in our simplicity we believed there was something uncanny in that grave that might pop up at any moment. Not one of us but secretly wanted to “be there” when the popping up occurred, but cautiously we would pass by on the other side of the road, talking in whispers, bonnets in hand;

⁷David Brantley was one of the early brick and stone masons, and died in the early forties.

The old tanyard, about a mile from town was owned and run by Walker Bailey.

“Glow’ring ’round with prudent cares;
Lest bogies catch us unawares;”

ready for a stampede on the least appearance of motion about the grave. We never learned his name, but the story of the deed, as told us, was that he stabbed a man (not fatally) on the streets and immediately took flight, an officer with his posse followed; as they neared him, he cut an artery in his arm and died in a few minutes. He was buried where he fell.⁸ This was St. Stephens’ only suicide, and I never knew of but one murder within its limits, and that was committed long after it began to decline. So the old town was not so very bad after all that has been said.

SCHOOLS.

In the history of any place next in importance to churches come school interests. There were no churches in St. Stephens, as we have seen; and of its one-time academy⁹ and newspaper¹⁰ I know nothing. The first teacher of whom I know anything was Mr. D. H. Mayhew, a native of Massachusetts, who died Sept. 7, 1822, aged 40 years, and is buried at St. Stephens. I never knew whether he had a family or not. My mother was one of his pupils and she cherished a respectful and loving memory of him as long as she lived. She often related to her children incidents of her school life, and one of them is so associated with the history of St. Stephens as to deserve a place here. The

⁸ Supposed to have been a man named Gilmer, his intended victim being Judge Wm. Crawford. See Note at conclusion of this paper for additional facts.

⁹ As early as Dec. 17, 1811, the Territorial Legislature had incorporated “Washington Academy,” at St. Stephens, in Washington Co. Other Acts relating thereto were passed Nov. 25, 1812, and Dec. 24, 1814. On Feb. 7, 1818, St. Stephens Academy was incorporated. Mr. Mayhew was one of the trustees named for the latter. Its supporters were the leading men of the community.—Toulmin’s *Laws of Ala.* (1823), pp. 540-3.

The *National Intelligencer*, Sept. 5, 1816, states that the paper at St. Stephens M. T., on Aug. 9, 1816, printed an account of an examination and exhibition at the St. Stephens Academy on Friday and Saturday last, highly honorable to the students and creditable to Mr. Mayhew, the instructor. It copies the following language and commends it:

“We hail with pleasure, the establishment of a literary institution so promising in this country, lately a wilderness, the haunt of savages, where nought but ignorance and barbarity abounded. It is worthy of remark, that amongst upwards of seventy scholars from different parts of the county, and some from the States, there is not a single instance of sickness.”

¹⁰ *The Halcyon*, begun in the spring of 1815 by Thomas Eastin, Esq. See Editorial Notes appended to Justus Wyman’s “Sketch,” *supra*.

citizens, grateful for the friendly services of Pushmataha, the Choctaw chief, during the Creek war, thought the best return they could make would be to educate his son Mingo. The old chief was pleased, so Mingo was duly entered as a pupil in Mr. Mayhew's school. Ordinarily he was a pretty fair pupil; but

"The best laid plans o' mice and men,
Gang ait aoglee;"

and unfortunately for the plan of the whites large numbers of Indians, the friendly, inoffensive Choctaws, remained in the country. Often numbers of them came to town, camped in the outskirts and made the whole place lively by their nightly carousing. This was too much for the wild Indian boy to withstand. He would slip out after dark and spend night after night in the wild orgies of his companions; and of course through the day, although dutifully in the school room, was too dull for study. Friendly remonstrance, judicious counsel, even punishment availed but little, and only for the time of the absence of the Indians. Every new camp was an occasion for Mingo to break the bonds of attempted civilization. Finally Mr. Mayhew said, "it is useless; Indian will be Indian," and gave it up as an impossible job. Mingo returned to his tribe, and his faithful teacher sleeps in old St. Stephens cemetery.

My first teacher was Charles L. S. Jones, who taught during the years 1828, 1829, and 1830. He had a wife, and some children too small for school. His later career I know nothing of. I cannot characterize him better than by referring to the description of an old time "dominie" in Sir Walter Scott's novels. He was a kindly man as I remember him; and as I remember ourselves he had a wild set under his care. He was a learned man for that day and time, but little did we youngsters reckon of his learning, though in after years I often recalled with pride that my first teacher translated a volume of Latin poetry into English. We had a copy of that work till 1880 when it was unfortunately destroyed. We studied "out loud" if we chose, sat on the benches or on desks at will, or the "big boys" took their books and slates out under the trees. The text books that we "floundered through" a modern pupil would throw down in angry disgust. "Lindley Murray's" grammar, "Greenlee's" or "Greenleaf's" geography, &c., &c. And he would scorn our school furniture; desks built around the room against the wall,

backless benches, pencils made of bullets run together and beaten into proper shape, copy-books made of sheets of unruled paper stitched together and ruled as we could get it done. The boys who were fortunate enough to own these lead pencils performed a good work of love in ruling books for the unskilled. Pens of quills plucked from the geese at home were made and mended by the master. But we managed to have a great deal of fun with it all. We had two good honest hours at noon, and recess as often as we could obtain permission or slip out unawares. There were plenty of attractions to lure us out of doors and keep us out as long as we dared. Ah! it was a wild, rollicking, childish happy time, but not wasted; we did learn something and that thoroughly. Besides, our unrestrained gambols in God's free air and sunshine and pure water, the best tonics in the world, built up our muscular systems, and gathered up a fund of good spirits for the requirements of future years; and some of us have needed the full supply in the subsequent battle of life. Oh, ye fathers and mothers! let your children be children while they may. Cares and anxiety come soon enough, and when they come they remain throughout the journey of life.

As there was no school building then, schools were taught either in a private residence or any deserted house that came handy for the purpose. Mr. Jones taught in one that had been the dining-room, with kitchen attached, of one of the mansions of early times. It was a large, long room built of blocks of hewn stone smooth and white as marble; a stack chimney between the rooms, closets in both, and well ventilated and lighted by large glass windows. We were well housed if not well furnished. The plentiful debris of stone and glass scattered around gave evidence of the magnificence of the former dwelling. It stood in a beautiful green lawn shaded by large china trees. All dead and silent now is the place that in the late '20's and early '30's echoed to the mirth of so many happy voices! Alas! that the happy days of childhood can return only in memory! But it is right, for an Allwise Father has decreed it so; this world would be too attractive else.

I would not make any disparaging discrimination between my Old St. Stephens' schoolmates, for I have kindly remembrance of all of them, which grows warmer and more tender as the years go by; but I cannot dismiss this school without mentioning one

pupil, dear to the memory of all who were "the little girls" in the school: Mary McKiley Miller. Her mother and brother, John Miller, made up their family then. The former called her Mary, but we called her Kiley for short, and loved the name for the sake of the one who bore it. She was the "big girl" of the school; the champion and leader of all the "little ones." She was a safe leader; well for us that she was so, for we followed her unquestioningly. Of a motherly disposition, she was to us the impersonation of all that was good and noble. In our judgment her word was infallible, and she never disappointed us. She was a born leader. She married a Mr. Morehouse and lived at Toulminville, a busy, useful Christian life. The girl was mother to the woman. Dear Kiley, it rests me even now to think of her.

The next school commenced about 1831, and was taught by Mr. and Mrs. James Duncan, English people. They taught some time prior to this in Jackson, Ala., and came to St. Stephens about 1830. Duncan, as I learned many years afterwards, was an assumed name. Both husband and wife taught school, and the madam taught various kinds of needle-work in addition. Their eldest daughter taught music and according to the system then in vogue, which was almost a snail's pace compared to the present system.

Here we had pretty much the same text books as in the Jones' school; the same desks against the wall, backless benches, home-made pencils, &c. The old gentleman brought some steel pens, till then unknown in these parts, and tried to introduce them, perhaps to spare himself some work. But the effort proved to be premature; his patrons mostly believed in encouraging home industry; so we still "run down" the geese, plucked the quills and carried them to him to make into pens. Neither the system nor the discipline of this school was anything like we had been accustomed to; we were not the "happy-go-lucky" set we had been formerly. Nevertheless we managed to extract a good deal of enjoyment from the untoward circumstances. They lived and taught in a large building on the principal street. The second and third stories were occupied by the family and their boarders; there were boarders in this school. The whole lower floor was divided into two long, large rooms. One of them was used for a dining-room, the other, the school room, had been, in the early

times, the store of Messrs. Coolidge & Bright.¹¹ Shelves were still along the walls, and on a large beam running through the center, supported by two or three pillars, was the name of the firm in gilt letters. The old house survived till the removal of the town.

This school was the last one in old St. Stephens. After the death of the father and mother, the two daughters went to England, where the eldest, Miss Charlotte, received some entailed property. They returned to Alabama under the name Pettit and taught near Warsaw several years, about 1847. They explained that their father assumed the name of Duncan in consequence of something that occurred in the British navy, or merchant service, in which he was an officer, that necessitated his remaining incognito for a time; and that necessity lasted as long as he did. A son, James Pettit, went to Arkansas, and Miss Mary Pettit married a Mr. Marr in that State.

Apropos of the religious sentiment of St. Stephens at the time, an incident in which he was prime actor will serve to show his standing in that respect. He had courteously given permission to the Baptist preacher, Rev. William Shoemaker, to preach in his school room. After a few services, one Sunday morning the minister gave an opportunity for any one who might wish to join the church. Two colored women presented themselves. Immediately Mr. and Mrs. Duncan arose, gathered up all the pupils who were present, day pupils as well as boarders, marched us out and upstairs regardless of the presence of several of our parents. He peremptorily forbade any more preaching under his roof; said a negro had no more soul than a monkey, and no preacher who treated them as responsible beings should have the use of his house. After that Mr. S. preached a few times in Grandmother Gordy's hall. That ended religious services in old St. Stephens, as far as I know.

LAWYERS.

Well, there is no living without the law, and its expositors, lawyers; and old St. Stephens was fortunate in counting among her citizens those able jurists of wide-spread reputation, Judges

¹¹This was an old firm of merchants, composed of Elias Coolidge and Henry Bright, which was in business in the town in 1818.—*Minor's (Ala.) Report*, pp. 11, 103. Descendants of the Coolidge family live in Kemper Co., Miss.

Ptolemy Harris¹² and William Crawford.¹³ Of the family of Judge Harris, the eldest daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson, lives in new St. Stephens, on or near her father's old homestead. Of Judge Crawford's family, only the tall marble shaft which marks the grave of his youngest daughter, Mrs. Caroline Browne, wife of Samuel Thompson Browne, of Virginia, now remains. It is on a high hill in the old town, in what was once the garden; every vestige of the residence is gone. Both these gentlemen were too widely and favorably known to give room for comment from any one. But truth is imperative, and before we dismiss the subject of law, be it known to the shame of the old town that many claims within its precincts were settled by bankrupt law. Did that have anything to do with hastening its downfall? What think ye who read this?

PHYSICIANS.

As unhealthy as the location was reported to be, physicians did not seem to flock to it.¹⁴ In the early days, Dr. Thomas Dean was the only one whose name I recall. He had no family, and died in St. Stephens about 1831-2. After his death, Dr. Joseph A. Huber, a wiry little Frenchman, embodied the whole medical skill for town and country for several years. He lived in the hills ten miles or more away, where it is thought he died. He always rode in a gallop, walked with a quick, nervous step and diagnosed his cases with astonishing rapidity but skillfully. I speak advisedly, for I am a living proof of his skill. After an attack of fever the sight of one of my eyes became very seriously affected and was almost gone when he was sent for. By the blessing of God upon his skill, he restored it, and saved it for me for all these years. I was then seven or eight years old, and in gratitude I record this to his memory. He never fastened his horse, but would gallop up to the gate, spring off and order any servant or child that might be in sight, to hold the bridle and let him graze; and woe to the one who disobeyed, for he carried a keen riding-whip and used it without fear or favor. Of course,

¹² Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 576. His wife was a daughter of Col. Wm. McGrew. Balls' *Clarke County, Ala.*, p. 447.

¹³ Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 392. He was the second Federal Judge in Alabama, serving on the bench, 1826-1849. Balls' *Clarke County*, p. 443.

¹⁴ Dr George Buchanan, one of the original directors of the Tombeckbe Bank, was here in the practice in 1816.

every child or servant who was not compelled by circumstances to "stand his ground" dodged under cover the moment he came in sight. In course of time, Dr. Samuel S. Houston, a man of family, settled in town; he was a mild mannered man and a good practitioner.¹⁵ He died there. After him came Dr. Middleton Dougherty, of Charlotte, N. C., who died in St. Stephens July 16, 1835. I think the last physician of the old town was Dr. Hawkins; he married Miss Coleman, of Jackson, then called Pine Jackson.

MERCHANTS.

Prominent among the merchants of the early times was Mr. John Bours Hazard. He came when quite young from Connecticut in the employ, I think, of the Messrs. Snow. Afterwards he began merchandizing, brought his three sisters south and settled a home just where new St. Stephens now stands. The two elder sisters married the Messrs. Snow, and went either to Mobile or Tuscaloosa. Mr. Hazard married in St. Stephens, Mary Fairfax, a daughter of Col. William Aylett, of King William County, Va., and after quite a short life of remarkable energy and usefulness he died, mourned by all in the surrounding country. His grave, in his former garden, is about the center of new St. Stephens, only a few feet from the court-house; for the town is directly on the site of his old country home.¹⁶ Col. Aylett left the place in the general exodus and went to Tuscaloosa; his son Alfred died while on a visit to old St. Stephens, and his grave is by the side of Mr. Hazard's. His youngest sister, Miss Ann Hazard, who remained with him throughout his life, deserves special mention in the annals of old St. Stephens, not alone because she was so closely identified with the old place which she loved with the devotion of a daughter of the soil, but also because she was a remarkable woman. After her brother's death she stepped heroically into his place in the family, and in those days when so few avocations were open to women, it was

¹⁵Ball's *Clarke County*, p. 446.

¹⁶The following is his Epitaph: "Sacred | to the memory of | John Bours Hazard, | who was born | at New London, Connecticut, | on the 6th of September, 1802, | and died at this place | on the 23rd August 1835, | and is here interred. |"

He was a son of Capt. Charles and Ann (*Bours*) Hazard; and of his sisters—Abby married Henry A. Snow, and Caroline married Zabdiel B. Snow, both of Tuscaloosa.

no light thing to do. By teaching she educated the children until the elder ones became self-sustaining, supporting the whole family in the meantime. She taught first near the old home; afterwards in different localities in Alabama and Mississippi, carrying the family with her. "Cast thy bread upon the waters; thou shalt find it after many days." Certainly, certainly Mr. Hazard's loving care of his young sister did yield large results to his family. I was one of her pupils in Mississippi and know that she was a Christian in heart and life, of indomitable will, untiring energy and scrupulously conscientious in her duties as teacher. She did not confine her work to the school room, but at all hours and everywhere she sought by precept, by example, by loving judicious counsel, to lead her pupils into a higher conception of the dignity and requirements of life than mere living. Her oft repeated injunction was, "Do try to live so, that when called to give up this life you will have the happy consciousness that the world is better for your having lived in it." She exemplified her own injunction. Overcome at last by age, disease and work, she quietly sank to sleep in the arms of the Saviour whom she had served so long and so faithfully. Her body lies in a grave at DeKalb, Miss., but she still lives in the hearts of her pupils. She was a citizen of St. Stephens and made as honorable a record in life as any of the best; so I make no apology for introducing into these reminiscences this short tribute to her worth. It is not the half that I could say, or that my heart dictates.

LAND OFFICE.¹⁷

The mention of the land office located in old St. Stephens in its earliest days, recalls the name of James Magoffin, its Register for so many years.¹⁸ He had his office in the old town at two different periods and moved with it out to its present site and died there, still in office and still keeping bachelor's hall. He was peculiar in many ways; always wore his hair in a queue and kept his hat on at all times in doors or out; very few even of his

¹⁷The first in Alabama; created by Act of Congress, March 3, 1803.

¹⁸A native of Penn., and a near relation of Gov. Magoffin, of Ky. He represented Washington Co., Ala., in the Miss. Territorial Legislature, was in the Const. Convention of 1810 from Clarke Co., and for more than thirty years Register of the Land Office at St. Stephens. He never married. A brother, Thomas Magoffin was a wealthy merchant, of New Orleans.—Ball's *Clarke County*, p. 448; and *Life of T. W. Price*, p. 6.

most intimate friends ever saw him without it. He had many good qualities, as evidenced by the number of his true friends among the best people, and by his long continuance in office. Wherever he pitched his tent, he planted an orchard and a vineyard; an example which commends itself to all who own a home, however humble.

Also connected with this office, for many years as Receiver, was my uncle, Elijah H. Gordy, born and raised in old St. Stephens, and had his office there for a long term. He died in new St. Stephens July 14, 1885, and his descendants are still living there, as also those of his sisters, Mrs. James S. Malone and Mrs. Walker Bailey.

"TOMBECKBE BANK."

In the hey-day of its youth the old town boasted a bank, which I learn from an old account book of my father, was chartered under the name, The Tombigbee Bank; also that it was in existence in 1821-23, perhaps longer.¹⁹ I know its life was ephemeral and was suddenly terminated by a robbery, which caused a wild and wide-spread tumult at the time. But the guilty party was never discovered, and a mystery still shrouds the robbery of the Tombigbee Bank. I have a shadowy recollection that Col. George S. Gaines was once its president and Mr. Frank Lyon, cashier. The latter died in early manhood. The former, Col. Gaines, lived to a good old age, held several responsible positions, and was widely known throughout Alabama and Mississippi. In 1858 I enjoyed for several days the hospitality of his home at State Line, Miss. He was the genial gentleman he was represented to be; was quietly and comfortably spending the evening of life with his family and friends.

MASONIC LODGE.

The Masonic Lodge perhaps lived longer than any other institution of old St. Stephens.²⁰ It was domiciled in the third story—garret it was called—of Grandmother Gordy's house. But further than that, "deponent saith not" for very obvious reasons. But if I were in a circle of my kinsfolk and schoolmates at St.

¹⁹ It was chartered Feb. 13, 1818, and had a fine array of prominent names as incorporators. Toulmin's *Laws of Alabama*, 1823, pp. 40-45.

²⁰ It was "St. Stephens Lodge, No. 9," one of the earliest in the State.

Stephens I could tell them a joke on myself anent that old lodge that would amuse them.

HOTELS.

The only hotel within my recollection was kept by Maj. Reuben Chamberlain in connection with a store; family rooms in the rear, and guest chambers above the store. His first wife was a daughter of Judge Harry Toulmin. Her first husband was Capt. James Wilkinson, and her first son, Theophilus Wilkinson, followed the profession of his father and grandfather. After the death of his mother, sometime in the '30's, he resigned his office—lieutenant—and died in early manhood. Maj. Chamberlain's second wife was Miss Martha Brantley, daughter of J. S. Brantley, head of a large family who lived in old St. Stephens.

COL. GEORGE FISHER.²¹

Speaking of military men, Colonel Fisher, who came from Georgia in 1812, presumably, remained but a few years. Nothing remains to preserve the memory of his sojourn there except the grave of his daughter, Mrs. Hayes. It is in the garden of his old home; in 1858 the brick vault covered with a marble slab, was still intact. Notwithstanding the town had a cemetery the citizens seem to have largely followed the doubtful custom of interring their dead on private lots, as the many graves scattered around and within the limits show.

LEWIS SEWALL.²²

Within its precincts there once wandered around an erratic individual, something of a poet. I have often heard my father repeat with great gusto a comic poem written by him on a very common subject. I remember the lines jingled harmoniously, and the rhythm was smooth and flowing, but it was not at all refined. Still it was enough to credit the old town with a poet—Captain Sewall. Some may think that there was quite an array of titles among those old inhabitants. Well, so there was; and

²¹ He lived and died in South Alabama; was of local prominence; and has several descendants. He was from Rowan Co., N. C., and the son of Frederick and Ann (*McBride*) Fisher, the former of whom was in the Revolutionary War. Wheeler's *North Carolina*, vol. ii, p. 392; and Draper's *King's Mountain and its Heroes*, p. 304.

²² He was the father of Dr. Sewall, and later removed to Mobile. The editor has two of his poems in manuscript.

let us bear in mind that those were days when a title, either civil or military or professional, stood for something.

TAILORS.

As may be supposed, in a town of so much wealth, trade and industry, when ready-made clothing was not in the market, there was a good opening for tailors. I know there were some who drove a brisk trade there in its early settlement though I cannot call their names. Later, Mr. Benj. McLaughlin plied successfully the same trade; but when or whither he went, I do not know. Later still was a Mr. Thomas P. Belancy—I spell the name as pronounced. He moved to Gainesville, Ala., in 1833, afterwards to Kemper County, Miss., where he married Jane Breedlove, and died. His children are still living there.

SILVERSMITH.

During the “flush times” a silversmith pitched his tent and plied his trade for several years. Of the character of his work, I have as proof a set of teaspoons made to order for my father and mother when they went to housekeeping in 1820. That they are genuine solid silver is shown by the fact that they have stood the wear of nearly eighty years’ service without damage or dimness. Honest work! All credit to the honesty of St. Stephens’ only silversmith—John F. Sossamon.²³

OFFICIALS.

There were many others whom I remember, and others whose names I find in an account book, but I thought it would serve the purpose better to confine myself to those who were connected with some profession or industry within the limits of the town. I should like to speak of my schoolmates all of whom I remember kindly, but it would take too much space. Perhaps I should add, that my father, George Welsh, was for many years deputy sheriff, and I think Judge George Lister was the sheriff. During some of these years, if not all, Judge Lipscomb presided over the court.

COURT-HOUSE.

I do not know where the court-house was located in the earliest history of the town, but I know as far back as my recollection

²³The Sossamon family came from Rowan Co., N. C., and were probably related to the Fishers. Persons of the name now reside in Mobile.

or information extends it was ten or more miles above among the hills. Not till after Mr. Hazard's death was it moved to its present site. Afterwards, the few remaining inhabitants of old St. Stephens arose in a body and moved out to the same place. I presume the county records will show the date.

LOVER'S LEAP.

Of the tradition connected with the famed Lover's Leap, I have heard two versions. It is just possible that the romantic scenery, coupled with early associations gave rise to the legend. The bluff is very high, covered with and surrounded by rugged beauty; an enchanting spot to those who are fond of wild scenery, of whom I confess myself to be one. A cave near by, rather difficult of access, white as marble throughout, is the traditional arsenal of the old Spanish fort. Farther up the channel of the river are the once formidable McGrew Shoals, which so long obstructed navigation. The family from which they took their name are all gone; but the shoals will keep the name while boats run the river.

HAGAR, A FREE NEGRO WOMAN.

Well, I would not be true to myself and perhaps not to the subject in hand were I to omit the mention of one individual, whose condition was unique for those days—a free negro—Aunt Hagar. She lived on a high hill back of the business streets. She was a law abiding citizen; cultivated her own little garden and patches; had her cow and chickens, and enjoyed the full confidence of the whites. How we, the little ones, did love to visit her, with or without permission, as the case might be! She always gave us a kind reception, and oftimes a treat. Looking back through all the intervening years, I can truthfully say that a slice of her corn hoe-cake split open and spread with butter of her own make tasted sweeter to me then, than the nicest cake does now. How much of the happiness of our lives depends upon association. She passed away before or during the Civil War. Peace to the memory of old St. Stephens' humblest citizen.

L' ENVOI.

Now, good-bye, dear old town. My heart beats with warmest love for you and breathes a sigh for your early desolation. Yet

it is comfort to know that the same moon and stars that nightly watch over your desolation, the same sun that floods your hills and glades with the glorious beams of day, also watch over and light me in my far Mississippi home.

Possibly some may think there is too much sentiment in this sketch; perhaps so for historical purposes; but not for my one dear old St. Stephens schoolmate, and my loved new St. Stephens relatives, at whose request, and for whose pleasure I have written. Anyway, I could not help it. I have revised it on purpose to eliminate some personal experiences. It has been a constant struggle to keep my feelings in abeyance. All the while I was writing, my heart kept crooning snatches of the old hymn:

“Yes, my native land, I love thee,
All thy scenes I love them well,
I love thee, oh, I love thee
More than human tongue can tell.”

R. H. GILMER'S ASSAULT ON WM. CRAWFORD, AND HIS SUBSEQUENT SUICIDE.

Sometime prior to 1805, R. H. Gilmer, said to have come from North Carolina, located in Washington County, Mississippi Territory (now Alabama). He was a lawyer, and at the town of Wakefield, Sept., 1805, the Hon. Harry Toulmin presiding, it being his first term as judge in what is now Alabama, the following order was made:

“Rhodomynique H. Gilmer was admitted to the practice of an attorney of this court, he having first produced a License and taken the oath prescribed by Law.”

He resided in or near St. Stephens, followed his profession, and appears to have been a good lawyer. His career was checkered, and his end a tragic one. After the annotation of the foregoing paper, the following letter was found by the editor in his McKee MSS., and as it so vividly pictures the details of this untimely occurrence, and at the same time confirms the statements of Miss Welsh, it is given in full. The cause for the assault is not known.—See Note 8, *supra*.

DINSMORE TO MCKEE.

St Stephens 13th March 1821

Dear Sir,

I wrote you some [time] ago & prescribed to save your life or your neck, that is in the last resort to come to St Stephens! little doubting at that time that our atmosphere was a panacea. Terrible times at our house massa Johny (sic), de crow he been dead! You know the rest! Last Saturday at high Meridian Rhodomynie Howe Gilmer sculked (sic) behind Vinus' house & discharged a large fowling piece loaded with shot & Ball of different sizes at William Crawford who was walking alone in the street some twenty of which entered his body. Gilmer supposing he had finished his work, mounted Col Hanes horse & fled. He was soon pursued in different routs & in about three hours was discovered & surrounded by George S Gaines & others to whom he said he surrendered but as they approached, he rolled up his sleeve & cut the veins & arteries of his left arm so that he bled to death in their presence. Some one seeing his fate inevitable said “Pity”. Gilmer replied no pity. Mr Gaines

asked if he had any communication for his family he answered, "No I have killed a villain & am satisfied." He is cheated for Crawford is pronounced out of danger and all decent folks glad on't. I give you this hasty acc to correct the errors of travelling passers. Notwithstanding we want to see you. if rogues do put themselves to death it is no reason honest men should.

N. B. Col Freeman has commenced the Choctaw (sic) Boundary. Thos H says the 17 Feby the Spanish treaty has arrived ratified & but for the death of Mr Burwell of Va would have been decided on that day in the Senate

Silas Dinsmore

Col John McKee

Address:

"Col John McKee | Erie | Alabama"

VI. ST. STEPHENS; SPANISH FORT AND AMERICAN TOWN.¹

BY PETER J. HAMILTON.

We meet to celebrate the evacuation of Fort St. Stephen one hundred years ago. That event was consummated on this bluff when the Spanish Antonio Palaas marched his troops out, and Lieutenant John McClary hoisted the first American flag in Alabama. But it was not initiated here. It began when the American surveyor, Ellicott, and the Spanish commissioner, Minor, set up that piece of brown sandstone still standing sentinel below Chastang's. For that marked where the new boundary line between Spain and the United States reached the delta of Alabama-Tombigbee basin. It had been run after many delays and with many vexations; but at last the stone pillar was set up, a western Mizpah, marked in English on the north side and Spanish on the south.

Here on this bluff, thirty miles away, was the actual transfer of possession. It was peaceable, for we celebrate the triumph of Pinckney's diplomacy, and not a battle, where human blood was shed. And yet it was not a friendly scene. McClary had been cutting a road, his well known Trace, from Natchez eastward, almost keeping pace with Ellicott as he ran the demarcation line further south. The Bigbee was reached, and, upstream, works erected. For months the American fort over there threatened the Spanish fort here. But on May 5th the Spaniards embarked for Mobile.

As this event had a double stage, at the Stone and at the Bluff, so it had a double significance. The evacuation was to the American soldiers at parade rest in the living present. But as he stood watching the Spaniards retire McClary may have thought of the past, and felt a dim prophecy of the future. It

¹Published in the *Mobile Register*, May 7, 1899, in connection with the account of the proceedings. In an article on Historic St. Stephens in the *Chicago Times Herald*, reprinted in the *Birmingham News*, July 15, 1899, C. W. Elsworth relies almost wholly on Mr. Hamilton's address.

was in fact a restoration of Anglo-Saxon institutions, and it was the beginning of their development along American lines.

It is true that Mobile remained essentially French, for Bienville's colonists had well settled its river. Its trappers and explorers traversed the Bigbee valley as they did that of the St. Lawrence, and made the French name known and loved among the Indians. Bienville himself built Fort Tombecbé on Jones' Bluff, and for years soldiers and missionaries passed up and down the Tombigbee in front of where we stand. There may even have been a house here for trading with the Choctaws. Boats easily came from Mobile, but on account of the shoals could not go higher, and thus Hobuckintoopa has always been important for trading purposes. The industrious French settled and planted the river bottoms, too. But the Frenchman knows no home but France. He may explore and influence a new world; but it will be generations before he settles far from his fort on the sea, where vessels arrive from France. And, before settlement had well got higher than Mobile river, came the Seven Years War, with its transfer of India, Canada and the east half of America from France to Great Britain. On the Bigbee, as on the Nile and in many other places in the world, before and since, the Frenchman opened the way—and the Englishman entered into his rest.

To this present time of good feeling between England and America our celebration is therefore appropriate. For here the American flag waves over what the English really settled. The capital was Pensacola, but Mobile was the principal town in that vast province, extending from the Chattahoochee to the Mississippi, and the Tombigbee district was the most fertile and became probably the most populous part. Two years after the Peace of Paris there was concluded with the Choctaws the treaty which opened to white settlement the fork of Clarke up to Jackson's creek or the Tallahatta, and the territory west of the Tombigbee up to Sentibogue. The first delimitation in this part of the world, the beginning of the extinguishment of Indian title outside the original thirteen colonies, it has not only made Alabama but the whole of the Mississippi valley. Many of the so-called Spanish grants which line our creeks and rivers were really British. McGrew, Walker, Sunflower, Carson, McIntosh, perhaps Basset, are among the names and families dating from

† those seventeen British years. No fort was built. Fort York (the French Tombeché) was even abandoned. But the river was explored, the bay mapped, commerce and agriculture flourished, courts of common law and chancery established, an elected legislature sat at the capital, and there was the inevitable conflict of prerogative and popular rights. In a word, Anglo-Saxon civilization prevailed, with its free speech, unrestricted enterprise, and representative government. We have changed the form, but not the substance even now.

When the Atlantic colonies rose in revolt Governor Peter Chester was able to hold West Florida loyal. Its population was even increased by fugitives from the east. But, although Spain, unlike France, did not recognize American independence, she took advantage of England's distress on the Atlantic to attack West Florida. And Galvez' capture of Mobile carried with it the submission of the interior.

Spanish rule succeeded, but it was mild. In Louisiana and Florida, cessions from foreign powers, the full colonial system was not put in force. Trade was often restricted, but Panton, Leslie & Co. were permitted to buy goods in London. Catholicism was established, but the Inquisition was not admitted. Spanish was the official language, but French and English were allowed even in the courts. Land owners were compelled to sell or change their allegiance, but many remained, and in the records are far more British than Spanish names. Slavery existed as before, but repartimientos of the Indians were not attempted. The policy of the French and British was followed, and trade, treaty and presents used to keep the Creeks and Choctaws friendly. The Bigbee district in one respect advanced. This Fort St. Stephen, named probably for Governor-General Miro, was built about 1789, and became an important centre. Here a garrison was maintained, a church and priest, and a village of soldiers, settlers and traders grew up between the landing and the fort. Cotton gradually ousted indigo, and much of the timber and naval stores shipped from Mobile came then as now from the lower Bigbee. The Spaniards partly realized the prophecy of the British explorer, Romans, that here, at the head of sloop navigation, would be a considerable settlement.

But a greater factor in history had been created when England recognized the independence of her American colonies. Their

population was limited to the coast, but they had indefinite claims to the Mississippi valley, and a restlessness that carried many there—a journey then more toilsome and dangerous than a trip now to Manila. What has become Kentucky and Tennessee was thus settled, the Spanish town of Natchez became half American, and eyes were cast even on the Bigbee. Great Britain had recognized by treaty with Spain the loss of West Florida, but she had now also declared the United States independent south to latitude 31°. This was much like our recent acquisition of the Philippines, for much of the ceded territory was in adverse possession. But the United States were more cautious then. They merely opened negotiations with Spain. It was long to no effect, but finally Spain was threatened with an English war. It became important to prevent attack upon her American possessions, and Godoy in 1795 suddenly agreed to Pinckney's demands. The line was run, and the result we celebrate to-day.

The occupation of Fort St. Stephen pointed to a future. It opened the way to American colonization. Settlers came by dozens. They came across from Georgia through the Creek country. They came on the Bigbee from the new west. They came down the Tennessee river from the Carolinas and Virginia. They even came by sea from New England. The Federal road, cut by the United States from Georgia, connected with Mims' Ferry at the Cut-Off and Hollinger's across the Bigbee. Agriculture flourished and cotton became king. Treaties at Fort Confederation (Tombeché), Hobuckintoopa, and Mt. Dexter acquired territory and established friendly relations with the Choctaws. Agent Joseph Chambers in 1803 turned this old fort into an Indian Trading Factory, with the parsonage for the skins and blockhouse for a store. His successor, George S. Gaines, from Tennessee, built above the fort, as a warehouse, the first brick house in Alabama bounds. As a part of Mississippi Territory, the Bigbee saw sessions of the superior court under judges from the territorial capital; but by 1804 it was found so inconvenient that Washington County was made a separate district. Harry Toulmin, an Englishman who had moved to Kentucky, became superior court judge, with Federal and territorial jurisdiction. He held court at Wakefield, near McIntosh—named for Goldsmith's vicar, but now much more like his Deserted Village. McClary's troops had long since founded Fort Stoddert, nearer

the demarcation line, and the parapets can still be traced at Mt. Vernon landing. There the distinguished Edmund Pendleton Gaines began his military career. For Fort Stoddert was the frontier base of the Union in this direction, and Toulmin and Gaines had international questions to solve. In those days of horse post and no telegraph, they were as independent as Dewey after he cut the cable, and like him relied on themselves. An instance occurred in the case of Aaron Burr, who had designs upon Mexico. He escaped from Washington near Natchez, but was captured at the branch near where Hooks' Store now stands, and confined in Fort Stoddert. Nicholas Perkins and a guard took him through the Cut-Off and overland to Richmond for trial—and acquittal. I am impartial in all else, for unlike Judge Austill I have no kin among the pioneers. But Burr was my relative, and everything connected with him interests me.

Fort St. Stephen had yielded its garrison to Fort Stoddert, for it represented the past and Ellicott's boundary was then of present importance. But instead of the brier came up the myrtle tree; instead of the fort there grew up several towns. About the bluff was always a settlement, and a larger one grew higher up the river where Edwin Lewis built his store and mill on the river bank, the site, it may be, of the American fort. A town was laid off there in 1807, and to it was given the name of Franklin. Possibly earlier, on a more healthful location, was begun the place which has received and kept the name of St. Stephens for itself. Much of it was on Chastang land, bought up by Toulmin, Gaines, Malone, Gilmer, Smoot and Dinsmore, and platted into lots. Strange to say, while the plan of Franklin has been preserved that of St. Stephens has been lost. Diligent search cannot discover it on the public records or in private hands. But so many deeds are preserved that we can fairly restore the place. The landing was kept by Reuben Chamberlain and Denison Darling. The knoll in the heart of town was occupied by Fort Republic, and crowded with refugees during the terrible times of the Creek war. The town boasted a market, a public square, and two or more hotels, perhaps a theatre, but, alas for its future, no church, no successor to the itinerant Methodist. Lorenzo Dow, who passed through so many times in the early years of the century. High street ran east and west along a ridge below the fort, and parallel to it were Front and Madison towards the

river, and later Jackson and Monroe on the other side. At right angles with High were Chambers, Orange, Spring and Lime streets, and one which became the road to Mobile. At the north-west intersection of High and Lime was to be the famous Tombeckbee Bank, and, *vis-a-vis*, the halls where sat the legislature when Alabama Territory was created in 1817. On High near its western end stood the land office. Thomas W. Maury in 1806 was the first receiver, and among his successors Lemuel Henry next year, William Crawford, John H. Owen, and Elijah H. Gordy, and among the Registers J. B. Hazard and James Magoffin are entitled to special gratitude. There, amid crepe myrtles, they labored well. Taking Ellicott's stone as the point from which to count townships north and south, in ranges east and west, they settled land titles for all South Alabama. As commissioners later, William Crawford and others adjusted the conflicting claims to French, British and Spanish grants. With Crawford we think of his beautiful home at Rodney, that loved grave in sight; of the judicial bench to which he attained. And we recall those other citizens of St. Stephens, James G. Lyon, George Fisher, Nathan Whiting, David Files, Ptolemy T. Harris, Abner S. Lipscomb, Jack F. Ross, and Henry Hitchcock. Surely St. Stephens stood for a high type of manhood in her day.

All this time the Anglo-Saxon and Latin civilization had been facing each other over Ellicott's stone. And herein is the national importance of this occasion. The surrender of Fort St. Stephen began the territorial advance of the United States. It has continued ever since, and at the expense of Spain and her old provinces. Next had come Louisiana, and soon Mobile. For disputes over duties and navigation of Mobile river produced the same friction as on the Mississippi. When West Florida, between Bayou Manchac and the line of 31° , revolted from the Spaniards, it sent an expedition, headed by the Kempers, for the capture of Mobile. It was supported by Americans in this Washington County, such as the lawyer J. P. Kennedy. It failed, but later the United States dispatched General James Wilkinson on the same errand. His regulars from New Orleans and men from Washington County in 1813 finally entered Mobile. Ellicott's line was obliterated. Next it was to be the turn of Florida, and then of California, to become American. In our day expansion has crossed seas and embraced Porto Rico, Cuba and the

Philippines. But for better or for worse, it all began with the evacuation of Natchez and of Fort St. Stephen in 1799.

But St. Stephens not only began a new era of our national history. She has stood for things that come nearer to our own hearts to-day. She truly *gave* the good men we have named, for she did not keep them. The oldest living inhabitant remembers the place but in decay. Only oaks and cellars now mark the lines of her streets. Her cemetery is a forest. Her glory has departed. Pompeii is better preserved, and more remains even of Nineveh than of the capital of territorial Alabama. If St. Stephens, like the fair Caroline Crawford, rests over there in the forest, unlike her the infant does not "slumber on her heaveless breast." Her child is the ever-growing Gulf city. Truer it is to say that St. Stephens did not die, she was translated. Her people, her trade, her very houses moved down below Ellicott's stone to the new frontier. Mobile did not outstrip her. St. Stephens took possession of Mobile and Americanized her. If Mobile is not now a stagnant Latin town, she owes it to St. Stephens, and it is fitting that her citizens should be pilgrims to this shrine.

And Alabama owes the Bigbee district yet a greater debt. Her name comes from an Indian tribe on the sister river, but the institutions of our State took root here in the British era, and in the time of Mississippi Territory assumed the shape which they have ever since maintained. Washington County was a well-established, self-reliant American settlement while the coast was still French or Spanish, the Alabama basin savage, and the Tennessee valley hardly known. Here were the pioneer settlers, the first courts, the first agriculture, the first trade and towns of what has become Alabama. Out of Washington have been carved most of the other counties. The sitting of the first legislature at St. Stephens was right. For here, where McClary in 1799 hoisted the American flag, was the beginning of Alabama. If to him the fort represented the past, the town for us, even in its ruins, stands for much that is best in modern civilization. Like the patriarch of old, St. Stephen though dead yet speaketh.

ADDENDA.

An old Indian grant recorded in Book "A," p. 70. of the Washington County, Alabama, *Records*, throws much light on the situation in March, 1799, as also for 1778. Owing to its importance it is here presented in full.

INDIAN GRANT TO JOHN MCGREW.

Articles of cession retrospective and perpetual concluded on between Piamingo Hometah or the young whooping king, principal Choctaw Chief of Hobuck and Toopad or the Indian Territory below Fouket Cheepoonta or little Turkey Creek and Pooshama Stubbee, or the Chief of the Okak Coppasa Towns on Tombigby of the one part and John McGrew, Inhabitant of the settlement of Tombigby of the other part, Witnesseth, that whereas about twenty-one years ago, the said Piamingo Hometah did give, confirm, deliver and cede unto the said John McGrew a certain tract of land lying on the East side of the river Tombigbee, bounded as follows, to-wit: beginning at blazed white oak on the bank of the river Tombigby, above the river Shoal nearly opposite the Walker's old place, and extending along the Indian path until it strikes the creek called Baunsee or Jackson Creek, thence down the said creek to the mouth where it empties into Tombigby river, thence by the said river to the beginning—and Poosha met Takak then principal Choctaw Chief on Tombigby below Okak Coppasa town deceased, did at the same time make in conjunction with the said Piamingo Hometah the like gift confirmation and session of the above described land unto the said John McGrew, which the above named Pooshama Stubbee, the son and only rightful successor of the said Poosha met Takak now in his own person acknowledges and confirms. Now the said Piamingo Hometah and the said Poosha ma Stubbee of their own free will and accord and in consideration of the good will and love they bear towards the said John McGrew, do for themselves and their children in succession, perpetuate, confirm and cede, the above described land unto the said John McGrew and his children in succession forever, together with all the advantages of soil, woods, waters and ways thereunto, being or belonging which the said John McGrew heretofore has and now enjoys and occupies with free and uninterrupted ingress and regress to and from said lands, In witness whereof the said Piamingo Hometah and Pusha ma Stubbee have hereunto set their hands and seals at the American Fort on Tombigby this seventh day of March in the year of Christ Seventeen hundred and Ninety-nine and the Twenty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America.

his
PIAMINGO + HOMETAH, [SEAL.]
mark.
his
POOSHA MA + STUBBEE. [SEAL.]
mark.

Witnesses present:

JNO. McCLARY,
RD. LEE,
D. BERRY.

October 8th, 1803. Richard Lee, one of the subscribing witnesses to the within instrument, personally appeared before me, John Brewer, one of the Justices of the peace for the County of Washington, in the Mississippi Territory, and, being duly sworn, made oath that he saw Piamingo Hometah and Poosha Mettaha (*sic*) did sign and deliver the same as their voluntary act and deed.

RD. LEE.

Sworn to before me.

JOHN BREWER, J. P.

INDEX.

- Abatombogue creek, 71.
 Abecas, 90.
 Abeha, 65.
 Abercrombie, R. S., 79.
 Academies, 116 n, 119 n.
 Accotink, Va., 139.
 Acklen, Wm., 46 n.
 Act incorporating Ala. Hist. Soc., 8.
 Adair, James, 90.
 American Indians, 70, 97.
 Adams, John, 158.
 Adams, John Quincy, 165.
 Adayes, 88.
 Adj. Gen. Ala., papers in office of, 78 n, 141 n.
 Age of the world, 47.
 Ahepat Okla, 70.
 Alabama Courier, 119, 127.
 Alabama History Commission. Members of, 20.
 Secretary's report on, 20.
 Alabama, Indian names in, 65-71.
 Alabama Republican, 127.
 Alabama river, 55.
 Alabama, meaning of word, 65.
 Alabama Territory.
 Amusements, 121.
 Area, 109.
 Banks, 119, 122.
 Boundaries, 109.
 Bibb, W. W., Gov. of, 130.
 Census, 110.
 Climate, 110.
 Commerce, 113, 122.
 Corn, 110 n.
 Cotton, 110 n, 126.
 Cotton Mills, 126.
 Counties, 109, 121, 159.
 Emigration, 120.
 Exports, 119.
 Fish, 120.
 Game, 120.
 Gin manufactures, 126.
 Health, 111, 125.
 Inhabitants, 120.
 Lands, 111, 114.
 Manufactures, 119.
 Mountains, 110.
 Newspapers, 116 n, 119, 127.
 Population, 110.
 Prairies, 111-112.
 Productions, 110.
 Religion, 118, and notes.
 Rivers, 113, 122.
 Saddle manufacture, 126.
 Schools, 119.
 Ship-building, 126.
 Soil, 110, 111.
 Timber, 112.
 Topography, 110.
 Towns, 115-18, 123-4.
 Vegetables, 110.
 Wheat, 111.
 Yellow fever, 125.
 Alabama-Tombigbee basin, exploration of, 90.
 Alaska purchase, 42.
 Alibamons, Dist. of, 95.
 Alibamons Indians, 90.
 Allen, Bishop, E. P., 196.
 Allen, Wm. Brown, 127.
 Allen, W. W., 78, 79.
 Alston, Benj. F., 136.
 Ames, Dr. S., 114 n.
 Amusements in Ala. Ty., 121.
 Amoy River, 187 n.
 Anderson, Dr., 135.
 Anderson, Rev. Neal L., 13, 14, 15 n.
 Anderson, Dr. W. H., 114 n.
 Anglo-Saxon Civilization, and influence in Tombigbee settlements, 228-9.
 Anthony, 95.
 Apalache Chief, Tashtigo, 51.
 Apalache river, 51.
 Appalachianicola, 190.
 Arbuckle, Col., 105 n.
 Archusa river, 71.
 Arkansas, Dist. of, 95.
 Arkansas Indians, 91, 95.
 Arkansas river, 91.
 Arnold, Mathew, 54.
 Ashby, Col. Turner, 138.
 Ashe, Dr., 136.
 Assinai, 87.
 Attala Co., Miss., 77.
 Audubon's Birds, 50.
 Austill, Evan, 161 n, 205.

- Austill, H., 119, 200, 231.
 Reminiscences, 205-7.
 Austill, Jere, 161 n, 206.
 Autauga Co., 122.
 Aylett, Col. Wm., and Mary
 Fairfax, 219.
- Bacon, Capt., 152.
 Badlum, James, Wm., 126.
 Bailey, Mrs. Walker, 221.
 Baker, Gen. Alpheus, 78, 79.
 Baldwin Co., 46 n, 49, 50, 53, 54,
 110, 115, 159.
 Ball, Rev. T. H., 195.
 Ballard, ———, 163.
 Bandy's Mill, 149.
 Banks, 119, 122.
 Baptist Church in Ala., 118 n.
 Barlow, Aaron, Elizabeth, 46 n.
 Barnard, Miss ———, 23.
 Barnett, Wm., Nat., 132.
 Bass, John, Ella, 24.
 Bassett's creek, 124; 191.
 Bassett's grant, 228.
 Basett, Dr. J. Y., 144 n.
 Bates, Wm., 161.
 Battery Huger, 52.
 Battery Tracy, 52.
 Battle, Gen. C. A., 78, 79.
 Battle, Jas., 79.
 Bayard, P. F., 123, 124.
 Bayagoula Indians, 85.
 Bay Minette, 49 n, 51.
 Bayou Manchac, 84, 232.
 Bayou St. Bernard, 88.
 Bayou St. Jean, 84, 86.
 Beale, Mrs. C. P., 55.
 Bearmeat Cabin, 151 n.
 Beasha creek, 71.
 Beaubois, 91.
 Beaulieu frères, 87.
 Beauregard, Gen., 137.
 Beaver trade, 84.
 Bedell, Benj. I., 123-4.
 Belancy, Thos. P., 223.
 Bell's Landing, 57.
 Benton, Thomas H., 191.
 Berger, Father, 83.
 Berrien, Maj. John, and Judge
 John, 128 n.
 Berry, D., 234.
 Bibb family, 128, 132.
 Bibb, G. B., 132.
 Bibb, Capt. Wm., 128.
 Bibb, Gov. W. W., 6, 14.
 Ancestry, 128.
 Bibliography, 132.
 Birth and education, 128.
 Congressman, 129.
- Gov. Ala., 130-1.
 Marriage, 131.
 Papers of, 132.
 Physician, 129.
 Senator, 129-30.
 Sketch, by Jones, 128-31.
 Bible Society, 118 n.
 Bibliographical References.
 Bibb, Gov. W. W., 132.
 Blakeley, 123.
 Burr's Conspiracy, 167 n.
 Cahaba, 117 n.
 Choctaw Names, 64-77.
 Clark, Willis G., 23.
 Cotton, 126.
 Counties of Ala., 109, 121, 159.
 Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty,
 106 n.
 Dillard, A. W., 99 n.
 French exploration, 80-98.
 Gaines, Geo. S., 184-5.
 Hardaway, R. A., 24.
 Health of Ala., 114 n.
 Jackson, town, 124.
 Jones, C. C. and C. E., 128 n.
 King family, 46 n.
 Leflore, G., 101 n.
 Manufactures, 126.
 Meek, Dr. B. F., 25.
 Newspapers in Ala., 127.
 Officers in War, 1861-65, 78-79.
 Pres. Church in Ala., 119 n.
 Religious History, 118 n.
 Travel, French, 97.
 Wilcox Brigade, 141 n.
 Wyman family, 108 n.
- Bienville, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 88, 90,
 91, 95.
 Big Black creek, 71.
 Biloxi, 5, 80, 82, 86, 97.
 Biloxi, Dist. of, 95.
 Biographical Sketches.
 Bayard, P. F., 124.
 Bibb, Gov. W. W., 128-32.
 Breckenridge, Richard, 142 n.
 Carson, James, 190 n.
 Clark, Willis G., 23.
 Cleveland, Wm. C., 23.
 Click, John, 150 n.
 Dillard, A. W., 99 n.
 Dinsmore, Silas, 168 n.
 Fisher, George, 222.
 Gaddis, Wm. P., 24.
 Gaines, Gen. E. P., 172 n, 188 n.
 Gaines, George S., 184 n.
 Gilmer, R. H., 225.
 Hardaway, R. A., 24.
 Hawkins, Benj., 176 n.
 Hazard, J. B., 219.
 Jones, C. E., 128 n.

- Jones, C. L. S., 214.
 McKee, Col. John, 168 n.
 Magoffin, James, 220.
 Mayhew, D. H., 213.
 Meek, B. F., 25.
 Nations, Jos., Jr., 153 n.
 Roupe, Wm., 151.
 Saffold, Reuben, 124.
 Schuyler, P. P., 169 n.
 Sewall, Lewis, 222.
 Sorsby, Mrs. W. E., 46 n.
 Sparks, Richard, 186 n.
 Taylor, David, 124.
 Toulmin, Judge H., 169 n.
 Tuomey, M., 56.
 Welsh, George, 209.
 Welsh, Miss Mary, 208 n.
 Wilcox, Gen. C. M., 133 n.
 Wyman, Justus, 107.
 Blackburn, Rev. Gideon, 119 n.
 Black Warrior expedition, 189.
 Black Water creek, 146 n.
 Blakeley, 49, 51-4, 115.
 Fall of, 53.
 Health, 125.
 Newspaper at, 119, 127.
 Shipbuilding at, 126.
 Sketch, by Owen, 123.
 Blakeley, Josiah, 54, 123.
 Blakeley Sun, 119, 127.
 Blennerhasset, H., 170, 1, 6.
 Blind King, 164.
 Blondel, 80, 88.
 Blount Co., 110, 178.
 Blountsville, 151 n.
 Boardman, John, 127.
 Bogue Chito creek, 66.
 Boisbriant, 80, 83, 90, 95.
 Bok falaia creek, 66.
 Bok hemma creek, 66.
 Bok lusa creek, 66.
 Bolling, Dr. W. M., 114 n.
 Bolupusha creek, 72.
 Bossu, Nouveaux Voyages, 97.
 Bourgement, 81, 94.
 Boundaries of Ala., 109.
 Bouteville, Father, 83.
 Boyle's Gap, 153.
 Boynton, Hannah, 109.
 Bowles, Gen. P. D., 78.
 Bradley, R. C. 180-3.
 Brantley, David, 212.
 Brantley, J. S., and Martha, 222.
 Breckenridge, ———, 39.
 Breckenridge family, 142 n.
 Breckenridge's Diary, 6, 118, 142.
 Breckenridge, James, John, John T., Joseph, Richard, Robert, 142 n.
 Breckenridge, Richard, diary, 142.
 Sketch, 142 n.
 Brewer, John, 234.
 Brewery at Huntsville, 126-7.
 Bright, Henry, 217 n.
 Bristoe Station, Va., 138.
 Brooks, Wm., 149 n.
 Browne, Caroline, Sam'l T., 218, 233.
 Brown and Bell, ship-builders, 126.
 Brownell, Dr. G. G., 14.
 Brooksville, Miss. 102 n.
 Bruin, ———, 169, 170.
 Brymner, Douglas, 66.
 Buchanan, Dr. Geo., 218.
 Buckatunna Creek, 72.
 Bucksville, 151 n.
 Bull Run, 137, 9.
 Buncombe Co., N. C., 208 n.
 Burial Mounds, 50.
 Burr's Conspiracy, 167, 177, 231.
 Burlason, Capt., 135.
 Burwell, ———, 226.
 Bush, T. G., 20, 197, 46 n.
 Buttahatchie river 67.
 Byhalia creek, 72.
 Bynington's Choctaw Grammar, 64.
 Caantacalamoo, 65.
 Cabell, Col., 134.
 Cabell, Maj., 136.
 Cabusto, ancient town, 67.
 Cadillac, Gov. LaMothe, 83, 86, 87.
 Cadodaquios, Indians, 86.
 Cahaba Co., 122.
 Cahaba Oldtowns, 66, 189.
 Cahaba Press, 119, 127.
 Cahaba river, 67.
 Cahaba, territorial capital, 117 n., 110 n.
 Calhoun Co., Miss., 73, 75
 Callieres, 84.
 Calvert, George, 49.
 Camden, 57.
 Cammack, Malvina, 99 n.
 Campbell, John A., sketch of Creek War, 1836, 162-6.
 Canada, 81.
 Canby, Gen., 53.
 Canoe Fight, 161 n.
 Canterbury, John, 161.
 Canton, town, 118 n.
 Canty, Gen. James, 78.
 Carmichael, Dr. John F., 170.

- Carolina, 88, 90.
 Emigration from, 230.
 Carroll Co., Miss., 72.
 Carson, Gen., 138.
 Carson's Grant, 228.
 Carson, Maj. Joseph, 190.
 Carter, Joseph, 161.
 Catawbas, 90.
 Catarpa Creek, 72.
 Catholic Church.
 Hist. works relating to, 92.
 In Alabama, 118.
 In West Florida, 229.
 Records at Mobile, 96.
 Census of Ala. Ty., 110.
 Centennials recommended, 21.
 Centreville, Ala., 118 n, 152 n.
 Centreville, Va., 139, 140.
 Chalaron, J. A., 52 n.
 Chamberlain, Henry Y., 125.
 Chamberlain, Maj. Reuben, 222, 231.
 Chambers, Joseph, 230.
 Chapitoulas, Indians, 85.
 Charlestown, Va., 138.
 Charlevoix, 89, 92.
 Journal, 97.
 Chastang, 227, 231.
 Cheatham Road, 148 n.
 Cheney, Alex., 180.
 Cheney, George, 182.
 Cherokee Co., 49.
 Cherokee Indians, 90.
 Mail road ceded, 187 n.
 Cherry, E. B., 79.
 Chester, Gov. Peter, 229.
 Chetimachas bayou, 85.
 Chewalla creek, 72.
 Chicagou river, 88.
 Chickasahay river, 91.
 Chickasaw bogue, 67.
 Chickasaw Co., Miss., 73, 75.
 Chickasaw Indians, 90.
 Agent among, 169 n.
 Boundary, 74.
 Settlements, 67.
 Chickianose river, 67.
 Childs, George, 127.
 Choctaw Co., 69, 71.
 Choctaw Indians.
 Boundary, 74, 66.
 Confederacy, 101.
 Coosha towns, 105.
 Creek Indians fight, 102.
 Districts, 69, 71.
 Divisions, 101-2.
 Exploring Expedition, 105.
 Factory, 185, 230.
 French, friends to, 91.
 Ganies, G. S., offered chief-
 tancy, 105.
 Limits, eastern, 66.
 Kvftalaia town, 72.
 Mission at Chickasahay, 91.
 Names in Ala. and Miss., 64.
 Pinashshuk town, 74.
 Quilla village, 73.
 Tala town, 71.
 Treaty of 1765, 228.
 Treaty of Dancing Rabbit, 99.
 Wia Takali town, 77.
 Yannubbee town, 77.
 Chouteau, 80
 Chula Homa, 72.
 Civil War.
 Batteries Huger and Tracy, 52.
 Blakeley, fall of, 52-3.
 Drainesville, Va., 140.
 Foundry at Selma, 52.
 Gaddis, W. P., service, 24.
 Hardaway, R. A., service, 24.
 Jones, C. C., service, 128 n.
 Lady Slocomb, gun, 52.
 Manassas, 136-7.
 Milwaukee, war vessel, 52.
 Officers, Ala., 78-9.
 Osage, war vessel, 52.
 Relics, 54, 62.
 Rodolph, war vessel, 52.
 Spanish Fort, 52.
 Tales of Adventure, 178.
 Unionists, 178-183.
 Wash'n Co. troops, 202.
 Wilcox, C. M., service, 133 n.
 Wilcox's brigade, 133.
 Claiborne, 57.
 Co seat of Monroe, 159.
 Paper at, 119, 127.
 Sketch of, 117, 118, 122.
 Claiborne, J. F. H., Hist. of
 Miss., 98.
 Claiborne, W. C. C., 172.
 Clanton, Gen. J. H., 78, 79.
 Clark, Geo. R., 32, 33.
 Clark, ———, Surgeon, 135.
 Clark, Willis Fish, Willis G., 21,
 23.
 Clarke Co., Ala., 70, 110, 159,
 211 n.
 Clarke Co., Miss., 72, 75.
 Clay, C. C., 68.
 Conduct in Creek War, 163-5.
 Death of, 179.
 Monroe welcomed by, 155.
 Clay Co., Miss., 75.
 Clayton, Gen. H. D., 78, 79, 196.
 Cleveland, Rev. W. C., 21, 23.
 Click, John, Mathew, Moss, 149
 n., 150 n.
 Climate of Ala., 111, 114, 125.
 Clinton Co., Ga., 208 n.
 Coate, C. J., 199.

- Coatopa creek, 67.
 Cochran, Dr. Jerome, 114 n.
 Cockrell, Gen. ———, 53.
 Cofiedelia creek, 72.
 Coffee, Col., 135.
 Coffee, John, 100, 104, 126, 149 n.
 Toast to, 157.
 Coila creek, 72.
 Colapissa Indians, 85.
 Colbert, 143.
 Coleman, Miss ———, 219.
 Conecuh Co., 122.
 Conehatta creek, 73.
 Confederate Military History,
 27 n.
 Confederate Survivor's Ass'n,
 128.
 Const. A. H. S., Resolution as
 to, 15.
 Coosa Co., 24.
 Coosa river, 54.
 Coolidge, Elias, 217.
 Coosha towns, 105.
 Corn in Ala., 110.
 Coroa Indians, 85.
 Cory, Chappell, 55.
 Cotaco Co., 121.
 Cotton, 229.
 Early produc. in Ala., 126.
 Exportation of, 119.
 Mills, 126.
 Price, 126.
 Statistics, 126.
 Cotton, G. B., 127.
 Cotton Gin Port, Miss., 91, 143.
 Counties in Ala., 109, 121, 159.
 Coureurs de bois, 89, 91, 94.
 Courts in Wash'n Co., 230.
 Cowekee creek, 164.
 Cowles, Rev. Salmon, 119 n.
 Coxe, 90.
 Crawford, Caroline, 218, 233.
 Crawford, Judge Wm., 218, 225,
 232.
 Crawford, W. H., 129.
 Creagh, John G., 124.
 Creek Indians, 72, 102, 142, 162-6.
 187, 188-91.
 Creek War of 1812, 142, 187, 188-
 191.
 Creek War of 1836, account of,
 162-6.
 Crozat, 86.
 Crump, J. O., 126.
 Trip from Mobile, 152 n.
 Cub Run, Va., 139.
 Cumberland Presbyterian Church
 in Ala., 118 and n.
 Cumins, Dr. John, 175, 176.
 Cunningham, Rev. Jos. P., 119 n.
- Cusachs, George, 97.
 Cushtusha creek, 73.
 Cutter, Wm. R., Introduction to
 Justus Wyman's Sketch, 107.
- Dabney genealogy, 184 n.
 Dahlgren, ———, 56.
 Dallas Co., 23, 66, 110, 117.
 Dale, Gen. Sam'l, 161.
 Daleville, Miss., 102, 105 n.
 Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty, 99.
 Darling, Denison, 231.
 Daughters Confederacy in Ala.,
 55.
 Dauphine Island, 80, 86, 87, 94,
 98, 109.
 Davenport, Thos. M., 127.
 Davion, Pere, 83, 91.
 Davis, Judge ———, 171.
 Davis A. M., 98.
 Davis, Jefferson, 136.
 Relics, 55-6, 62.
 Davis, Mrs. Jefferson, 55.
 De Alarcomme, 87.
 Déan, Dr. Thomas, 218.
 Dearborn, Henry, 168, 176.
 DeKalb, Miss., 220.
 De La Boulaye, 92.
 De La Fresniere, 87.
 De Le Loire, 85.
 Delisle, 82.
 De Lery, 87.
 De Lochon, 95.
 Democratic Party, expansion tra-
 ditional policy of, 27-45.
 Dennis, Jos. F., 79.
 Derbanne, 87.
 DeSoto, 54, 55, 67, 70, 91.
 Place of death of, 86.
 DeSoto Co., Miss., 72.
 Detroit, Ala., 182.
 Detroit, Mich., 89.
 Dillard family, 99 n.
 Dillard A. W., 6, 14, 185.
 Bibliography, 99 n.
 Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty,
 99.
 Sketch of, 99 n.
 Dillard, Dr. J. J., 99 n.
 Dinsmore, Silas, 185, 231.
 Letters to McKee, 168, 225.
 Sketch of, 168 n.
 Ditto's Landing, 143 n, 152.
 Documents, as to French explo-
 ration, 96.
 Donations to Ala. Hist. Soc., 19.
 Dougherty, Dr. M., 219.
 Dow, Rev. Lorenzo, 231.
 Drainsville, Va., 140-1, 141 n.

- Drake, Daniel, 114 n.
 DuBose, Barent, 164.
 DuBose, J. W.
 Tales of Adventure, 178-83.
 Duggar, Dr. R. H., 14.
 Dumont's Memoirs, 97.
 Duncan, James, 216.
 Du Poisson, 93.
 Durigouin, 87.
 Dutisnè, 81, 87, 95.
 Duvergier, 89.

 Eades, Capt. John, 205.
 East Ala. R. R., 25.
 Eastabutchie towns, 73.
 Eastin, Thomas, 127, 213.
 Eaton, John H., 100, 103, 104,
 100 n.
 Ebertop, Oocoola, 71.
 Edmonds, Col. E. C., 136.
 Elephants, 47.
 Eleventh Ala. Regt., 135, 140, 141.
 Elias, M., 92.
 Elk Co., Ala.? 110 n, 121.
 Ellicott's Stone, 198, 232, 233.
 Elsworth, C. W., 227.
 Elyton, Ala., 121 n.
 Emigration to
 Alabama, 120.
 America, 47-8.
 West Fla., 230.
 Enabling Act of Ala., mentioned,
 121 n.
 England, a New History of, 50.
 English, Attempts at Settlement,
 88, 89.
 Chickasaws friendly, 90.
 Traders, 83, 85, 88, 89, 90, 91.
 Episcopal Church, Clergy in
 Conf. War, 179.
 Erwin, Col. J. P., 23. ✓
 Escatawpa creek, 67.
 Ettahoma creek, 73.
 Evans' brigade, 139.
 Eve, Wm. J., 128.
 Explicatory Catechism, 49.
 Exploration, French from Mo-
 bile, 80-08.
 Explorers, 82.
 Exports from Ala. Ty., 119.

 Fairfax, C. H., Va., 139.
 Falls of Cahaba, 118 n, 152 n.
 Falls of St. Anthony, Wis., 83.
 Falls of Warrior, 151.
 Farrer, Abel, 124, 161.
 Federal troops, destroy records
 of La., 96.
 Ferrill, Temperance, 161 n.

 Fevers, 125.
 Files, David, 161, 232.
 Files, Sarah, 161.
 Finlayson, John, 199.
 Fireworship, 85.
 Fish in Ala. Ty., 120.
 Fisher, Col. George, 161, 209,
 222 n, 232.
 Fisher, Frederick, 222 n.
 Fitts, J. H., 7, 14, 16.
 Resolution by, 16.
 Fitzpatrick, Mrs. Benj. 14, 55.
 Florence Wesleyan Univ., 25.
 Florida, 41, 55.
 Florida, cession of, 155-6.
 Florida, town, 117.
 Florida treaty, 226.
 Flournoy, Gen., 191.
 Floyd, David, 170, 171.
 Folsom, Rhoda, Sophia, 101 n.
 Fontaine family, 46 n.
 Forney, Gen. John H., 78, 79, 135,
 137, 138, 139, 140.
 Forney, Gen. W. H., 78, 140.
 Forrest, N. B., 56.
 Forsyth, John, 129.
 Fort Alabahma, 90.
 Fort Chartres, 80, 95.
 Fort Claiborne, 109, 113, 127,
 190-1.
 Co. seat of Monroe, 159.
 Sketch of, 117, 118, 122.
 Fort Confederation, 230.
 Fort Decatur, 190 n.
 Fort Jackson, 90 n, 113, 118, 159,
 160.
 Fort L'Huilier, 84.
 Fort Morgan, 198.
 Fort Okfuskee, 90.
 Fort Rosalie, 85.
 Fort Republic, 231.
 Fort St. Stephen, 198, 227, 230,
 233.
 Fort Stoddert, 113, 127, 169 n,
 172 n, 185, 187, 191, 230, 231.
 Fort Tombeche, 91, 228, 229, 230.
 Fort Toulouse, 90, 97.
 Fort York, 229.
 Fossils, 59.
 Foster, Dr. J. H., 7, 14, 61.
 Foucault, 91.
 Fouket Cheepoonta, 234.
 Foundry at Selma, 52 n.
 Fowl, among Indians, 92.
 Fowler, W. H., 78 n.
 Franklin Co., 99 n, 121.
 Franklin Society at Mobile, 185.
 Franklin, town, 231.
 Fraser, Jas. L., 79.
 Frederick, Md., 138.
 Free Negro Woman, 224.

- Freeman, Col., 226.
 Freeman, Col. Holman, 131.
 French Archives, 96, 97.
 Documents, 96.
 Explorations, 80-98.
 Geographers, 81.
 Histories, 98.
 Missionaries, 91.
 Sources and authorities, 96-8.
 Travels, 97.
 French, B. F., Historical Collec-
 tions, 96, 97, 98.
 Friley, Caleb, 151 n.
 Frog Level Race Ground, 121 n.
 Fry, Gen. B. D., 78.
 Funacha creek, 68.
 Fusany, America called this by
 Chinese, 47.
- Gaddis, John, Wm. P., 21, 24.
 Gaines, Gen. E. P., 106, 172 n,
 231.
 Wives of, 188 n.
 Gaines, George S., 221, 225, 230.
 Choctaw Com'n., 104 n, 105 n.
 Choctaw desire him for head
 chief, 105.
 Dillard, A. W., data furnished,
 99, 100, 102 n.
 Gainesville named for, 106.
 Government, bad faith with,
 106.
 Letters to bro. James Gaines,
 184-192.
 Papers of, 184-5.
 Sketch, 184 n.
 Superintendent Choctaw re-
 moval, 105.
 Wife, 189 n.
 Gaines, James T., letters from
 bro. George S. Gaines, 185-
 92.
 Gaines, James, Vivian P., George
 W., 184 n.
 Gaines, W. W., and Co., 126.
 Gainesville, 106, 223.
 Galvez, Gov. 51, 229.
 Game in Ala. Ty., 120.
 Gardner, Gen., 79.
 Garnett, Gen. Robert S., 134.
 Garrett, Dr. W. R., 5, 13, 15, 16.
 Annual address, 27-45.
 Remarks by, 15.
 Vote of thanks, 16.
 Garrett, Gen. Isham W., 78.
 Gayarré's Louisiana, 96, 98.
 Genealogical Notes.
 Acklen, 46 n.
 Berrien, 128 n.
 Bibb, 128, 132.
 Breckenridge, 142 n.
 Bush, 46 n.
 Dillard, 99 n.
 Files, 161 n.
 Fisher, 222 n.
 Gaines, 184 n.
 Gordy, 208 n.
 Hazard, 219 n.
 Henley, 46 n.
 James, 46 n.
 Jones, 128 n.
 King, 46 n.
 Meek, 25.
 Nations, 153 n.
 Sibley, 46 n.
 Welsh, 208 n.
 Winston, 99 n.
 Wyman, 107-9.
 General Assembly of Ala., appro-
 priation by, 19.
 Geology of Ala.
 Formation at St. Stephens,
 211 n.
 Tuomey's work, first State Ge-
 ologist, 56-60.
 Georgia, emigration to Ala.,
 from, 120, 230.
 German settlers on Miss., 92.
 Gibson, Sam. and Mary, 142 n.
 Gillis, Lt. Com. J. H., 52.
 Gilmer, R. H., 231.
 Suicide of, 213 n, 225.
 Gins, 126.
 Glover, Frank, 79.
 Godoy, 230.
 Goldsboro, N. C., 140.
 Goldthwaite, Henry, 163.
 Gordy family, 208 n.
 Gordy, E. H., 209, 221, 232.
 Gordy, Elijah, Sally, 208 n.
 Gordy, Tabitha, 208, 209.
 Gordon, Gen. J. B., 78, 79.
 Goree, T. J., 79.
 Gorgas, Gen. Josiah, 78.
 Govan, Lt., 136.
 Gouverneur, ———, 155.
 Gracie, Archibald, 136.
 Gracie, Gen. A., Jr., 78, 79.
 Graham, John, 173 n.
 Granberry, Gen., 79.
 Graveline, ———, 87.
 Gravier, 85, 91, 97.
 Green, Jno., 181.
 Green Academy, 127.
 Greensands of Wilcox Co., 57.
 Grenada Co., Miss., 71.
 Grimalds, Capt., 115.
 Groveton, Va., 140.
 Gurley, Miss Sally, 180.

- Hagar, free negro woman, 224.
Halbert, Prof. H. S., 100 n.
Choctaw names, 64-77.
 Intro. to Breckenridge's
 Diary, 142.
Halcyon, newspaper, 119, 127.
Haldimand Papers, 96.
Hale, Stephen F., 135.
Hall, C. K., 79.
Hall, D. B., 79.
Hall, Edward, 125.
Hallett, R., 163.
Hamilton, Peter J., 5, 14, 15, 64 n,
 198, 200.
 Blakeley, 123.
 Colonial Mobile, 98, 115.
 French Exploration, 80-98.
 Member Ala. Hist. Com., 20.
 Spanish Evacuation Centennial,
 20, 195-7.
 St. Stephens, address, 229-35.
Hancock, Elizabeth, 109.
Hanes, Col., 225.
Harper's Ferry, 138.
Hardaway, Col. R. A., 24.
Hardaway, R. S., R. E., B. H.,
 24-5.
Hardaway's Battalion, 24.
Harris, James C., 102 n.
Harris, Ptolemy, 218, 232.
Houghton's Cotton Mills, 126.
Hawkins, Dr., 219.
Hawkins, Col. Benj.
 Creek War, efforts for peace,
 190.
 Letter to Dearborn, 176.
 Sketch, 176 n.
Hayes, Mrs., 55.
Hayes, Mrs., 222.
Hayes, Dr. Jno. M., 135.
Hazard, Ann, Abby, Caroline,
 John B., 219, 232.
Health in A. T., 111, 114, 116, 125.
Hemphill, F. F., and Nettie, 26.
Henderson, W. L., 201.
Henley, Dr. A. T., Robt. H.,
 John W., 46 n.
Hennepin, 82.
Henry, Lemuel, 232.
Henry, Col. Sam'l, 135, 139.
Herndon, Edward, Maj. Edward,
 Malvina, 99 n.
Heustis, Dr. J. W., 114 n.
Hickahaly creek, 73.
Hickory ground, 180.
Hicks, Dr., 47.
Hightower, —, 124.
Hinds Co., Miss., 76.
Historical Society of Ala., duty as
 to relics, 60-63.
Histories of La., 98.
Hitchcock, H., 232.
Hobuckintoopa, 68, 228, 230, 234.
Hogan, J. B., 162, 163.
Hollowell, —, 58.
Holmes Co., Miss., 76.
Holmes, David, 160.
Holmes, Gen. T. M., 140.
Holy Ground battle, 190 n.
Holy Spirit Bay, 81.
Holtscaw, Gen. J. T., 78.
Hood, —, 127.
Hopaii Iskitini, 103.
Horse racing, 121 n.
Horse Shoe Battle, 189.
Houmas, 84.
Houston, Gen. Sam, 41.
Houston, Dr. Sam'l S., 219.
Houlka creek, 73.
Howard Library, 97.
Huber, Dr. Jos. A., 218.
Hubert, 94.
Huchcha, word for river, 68.
Hudson, M. G., 79.
Huggins, Gen., 79.
Hull, Rev. Hope, 128.
Humes, Gen. 79.
Huntsville, 58, 130.
 Advocate, newspaper, 127.
 Bank, 119-20.
 Pres. Monroe visits, 154-8.
 Union army invades, 179.
Hurlburt, Rev. Hiland, 119 n.
Hurricane creek, 150, 151.
Hurt, Rebecca, 25.
Hutcheson, Sarah, 24.
Hutchinson, J. W., 79.
Hyer, Albert, 79.
Iberville, 80, 81, 83, 84, 89, 96.
Illinois, Dist. of, 83, 95.
Incorp. of Hist. Soc., Act of, 8.
Indians.
 Aboriginal remains, 50.
 Choctaw names, 64.
 Choctaw Old Towns, 66.
 Custom as to deadening trees,
 66.
 Factories for trading, 184-5.
 Sale of liquor among, 101.
 See also Choctaws, Chickasaws,
 Cherokees, Creeks, Creek
 War, Dancing Rabbit Creek
 Treaty, Campbell, J. A., Dil-
 lard, A. W., Gaines, G. S.,
 and Halbert, H. S.
Indian Grant to Jno. McGrew,
 234.
Indian Portrait Gallery, 50.

- Indigo, 229.
 Inhabitants of A. T., character of,
 120.
 Issaquena Co., Miss., 75.
 Jackson, Gen. Andrew, 41.
 Creek War, 188.
 Toast to, 157.
 Jackson, James, 126.
 Jackson, Stonewall, 56, 136, 137.
 Jackson Academy, 119 n.
 Jackson Co., Miss., 110 n, 121 n.
 Jackson Creek, 228.
 Jackson, spring, 201.
 Jackson, town, 117, 198, 201, 216,
 219.
 Sketch of, 123.
 Jasper Co., Miss., 67, 75.
 Jefferson County, 121 n.
 Formed from Blount, 151 n.
 Jones, John, first settler, 151,
 152 n.
 Jonesborough, 151 n.
 Jones' Valley, 150-3.
 Mills, 149 n, 150 n.
 Reed families in, 150 n.
 Roupe's Valley, 151 n.
 Stores, 150.
 Jefferson, Thomas, 36, 37, 38.
 Jesuit Relations, 97
 Jesuits, 91, 92.
 Jesup, Gen., 164, 165.
 Jewett, Origen S., 46 n.
 John, S. W., member Ala. Hist.
 Commission, 20.
 Johnson, Dr., 138.
 Johnson, Col. Richard, 166.
 Johnson, Wm., 161.
 Johnston, Gen. Geo. D., 78.
 Johnston, Gen. J. E., 134, 135, 136,
 137, 138, 140.
 Johnston, Gov. Jos. F., 7, 13, 55.
 Joliet, 82, 91.
 Jones Bluff, 228.
 Jones Co., Miss., 73, 76.
 Jones' Valley 118 n, 143 n, 149-152.
 Jones, —, 124.
 Jones, Col. C. C., Jr., 78 n, 128 n.
 Jones, Rev. C. C., 128 n.
 Jones, Chas. E., 6, 14.
 Memoir of Gov. Bibb, 128.
 Sketch, 128 n.
 Jones, Chas. L. S., 214-15.
 Jones, Gen. D. R., 139.
 Jones, John, 151 n, 152.
 Jones, Maj. Joseph, Capt. Joseph,
 128 n.
 Jones, Gen. Sam, 79, 139.
 Jones, Thomas G., 79.
 Jones, Capt. Toby, 156.
 Juzan, Pierre, 102 n.
 Kansas Indians, 74.
 Kaskaskia, 91, 95.
 Kelly, Gen. J. H., 78.
 Kemper, 232.
 Kemper Co., Miss., 75, 77, 217,
 223.
 Kennedy, J. P., 232.
 Kennedy, Jno. R., 14.
 Kennedy, Rev. Lucas, 119 n.
 Kentucky, settled, 230.
 Kilcrease, Sarah, 46 n.
 Killough, Rev. J. W., 200.
 King family, 46 n.
 King, Edward, Nath'l, Dr. Pey-
 ton, 46 n.
 King, Miss Grace, 46 n, 97.
 Life of Bienville, 98.
 Kinterbish creek, 68.
 Kip, Jesuit Missions, 97.
 Kittahatta creek, 73.
 Laclede, 80.
 Lady Slocomb, 52.
 La Fitte, 54.
 Lafayette Co., Miss., 74.
 Lafourche bayou, 85.
 LaHarpe, 87, 88, 92.
 Journal, 97.
 Lahontan, 82.
 Lake Pontchartrain, 84, 86.
 Lamar Co., 67.
 Lamar, Col. L. Q. C., 136.
 Land office at St. Stephens, 220.
 Lands, Choctaws cede, 100.
 Lands of Ala., 111, 114.
 Lanier, Clifford A., 14, 15.
 Relics and Antiquities, 54-6
 Lapatubbee creek, 73.
 La Salle, 81, 82, 88, 91, 92, 97.
 La Salle, Nicholas, 94.
 Lauderdale Co., Ala., 122.
 Lauderdale Co., Miss., 76.
 Law, Gen. E. M., 78, 79.
 Law, John, 89, 92, 95.
 Lawrence Co., 121.
 Lawyers at St. Stephens, 217.
 Lawyers of West Ala., 99 n.
 Leadbetter, Gen. D., 78, 79.
 Leake Co., Miss., 77.
 Leaf river, 73.
 Lebanon church Va., 141.
 Lee Co., Miss., 77.
 Lee, Richard, 234.
 Lee, Gen. R. E., 56, 180.
 Leesburg, Va., 138.
 Leflore, Ben, 102 n.
 Leflore, Greenwood, 101, 102.
 Leflore, John D., 102 n.
 Leflore, Lewis, 101 n.
 LePage du Pratz, 97.
 Le Sucur, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 94.

- Lewis, Addin, 125.
 Lewis, Edwin, 231.
 Lewis, Dr. P. H., 114 n.
 Lewis, W. T., 102 n, 104 n, 105 n.
 Lexington, village, 66.
 Liddell, Gen., 53.
 Lilly, Rev. D. C., 13, 14.
 Limestone Co., 121.
 Lincoln, Abraham, 56.
 Line creek, 74.
 Linson, —, 211.
 Lipscomb, A. S., 232, 223.
 Lister, George, 223.
 Little Leader, 103, 104.
 Little, Powhatan, 136.
 Little River falls, 49.
 Lloyd, Elizabeth, 24.
 Lobutch creek, 73.
 Locafoma creek, 73.
 Lockett, Col., 52.
 Long, —, 126.
 Longstreet, James, 78, 79.
 Looksa Homa, town, 73.
 Loosa Scoona creek, 73.
 Loring, Gen., 79.
 Loring, Arthur G.
 Introduction to Justus Wy-
 man's Sketch of Ala. Ty., 107.
 Lost creek, 146 n.
 Lover's leap, 224.
 Louisiana, Districts of, 95.
 Louisiana, French, 80-98.
 Louisiana, Hist. Soc. of, French
 documents owned by, 96.
 Louisiana, limits of, 88.
 Louisiana Purchase, 37-41.
 Lubbub creek, 68.
 Ludlow, Jacob, 125.
 Luksapalila creek, 68.
 Lumsden, Elijah, 161.
 Lyon, Frank, 221.
 Lyon, J. G., 232.

 McBride, Ann, 227
 McClary, John, 227, 230, 233, 234.
 McClary's trace, 227.
 McClellan, Gen., 134.
 McConnell, John H., 161.
 McCorvey, Thomas C., 7, 14, 15.
 McCoy, —, 150.
 McDermott, 52.
 McDonald, Col. Angus, 138.
 McDowell, Annie A., 25.
 McGrew, John, 234.
 McGrew, Col. W. M., 218 n.
 McGrew's grant, 228.
 McGrew's shoals, 152, 224.
 McIntosh, 230.

 McIntosh grant, 228.
 McKee, Col. John.
 Black Warrior exped'n., 189 n.
 Letter from Dinsmore, 225.
 Sketch, 168 n.
 McKinley, J., 126.
 McLaughlin, Benj., 223.
 McLaws, Gen. L., 141.
 McLosky, —, 163.
 McLosky, Philip, 125.
 McMilen, —, 143.
 McMillan, Rev. Neil, 119 n.
 McNair, Gov., 79.
 McNeill, W. S., 52.
 McQueen, Peter, 190.
 Macaria, 50.
 Madison County, 110, 159.
 Bible Society, 118 n.
 Cotton production, 126.
 Monroe visits, 154-8.
 Madison Gazette, 127.
 Madison, Hon. James, 172, 173.
 Magoffin, James, Thomas, 220 n.
 232.
 Magruder, Gen. J. B., 141.
 Mahon, John, 161.
 Major, Dr., 125.
 Mallett, J. W., 79.
 Malone, 231.
 Malone, Mrs. J. S., 221.
 Manassas, Va., 134, 136.
 Manderville, 94.
 Manufactures in Ala., 119, 126.
 Manuscripts, French at Mobile,
 96.
 At New Orleans, 96.
 Marameg river, 95.
 Marathon, town, 147 n.
 Marengo Co., 67, 69, 122.
 Margry, Pierre, Decouvertes, 96,
 et seq.
 Marion Co., 67, 122, 143 n, 180-3.
 Marne river (Red), 82, 85.
 Marquette, 82, 91.
 Marshall Co., Miss., 72.
 Martin, Lt. Col., 135, 140.
 Martin, Gen. J. G., 79.
 Martin, W. L., 14.
 Martin's Louisiana, 98.
 Maryland, 89.
 Marysville, 187 n.
 Mascoutins, 89.
 Mashulaville, 102 n.
 Masonic Lodge at St. Stephens,
 221.
 Mathews, C. L., 70.
 Maurv, Thomas W., 232.
 Mayfield, J. J., 7, 14.
 Mayhew, D. H., 205, 213.

- Mayo, Miss., 136.
 Meek, A. B., Romantic Passages
 in S. W. History, 98.
 Meek, B. F., sketch, 21, 25.
 Meek, S. M., Henry, Col. Sam,
 John, and John W., 25.
 Melson, Tabitha, 208 n.
 Membership of Ala. Hist. Soc., 17.
 Membre, 91.
 Mercantile library, St. Louis, 97.
 Meridian, Miss., 75.
 Meslier, G., 79.
 Methodist Church in Ala., 118 n.
 Mexican Indians, 47, 48.
 Mexican War, 24, 41.
 Mexico, 55.
 Miamis, 89.
 Miller, Mary McKiley, 216
 Miller, Samuel, 127.
 Milliken, —, 174.
 Mills, 149, 150, 231.
 Mills, Elenor, 25.
 Milton, Col. Homer V., 191.
 Milton's Bluff, 147.
 Milwaukee, war vessel, 52.
 Mines, 82.
 Ministers of the Gospel, 118-19
 210-11.
 Minnie Lee, steamboat, 198, 199,
 201.
 Minor, Dr., 136.
 Minor, Henry, 126, 156.
 Miro, Gov. Gen., 229.
 Missionaries, Catholic, 91, 92.
 Authorities, 98.
 Mississippi, Choctaw names in,
 71.
 Mississippi river, explored, 83-85.
 Mouth of, 81.
 Missouri river, 47, 94.
 Missouri Indians, 94.
 Mitchell, Samuel, 169 n.
 Mobile, 5, 85, 91, 97, 113, 122,
 152 n, 175, 227, 228, 232, 233.
 Bank, 119-20, 122.
 Capital of La., 80-1.
 Cotton receipts, 126.
 Disputes as to duties, 187 n, 232.
 Exodus to from St. Stephens,
 207.
 Exploration, 80.
 Fort at, 98.
 French holding, 80-98.
 Health of, 125.
 LeSueur at, 84.
 Origin of name, 68.
 Papers at, 119, 127.
 Port of, 23.
 Road to, 232.
 St. Dennis at, 86.
 Schools, 23.
 Sketch, 115 and n.
 Spanish restriction of naviga-
 tion, 187 n.
 Mobile Advertiser, 23.
 Mobile Centinel, 127.
 Mobile Co., 67, 110, 159.
 Catholic Church records 96.
 French records in Probate
 Court, 96.
 Mobile, Dist. of, 95.
 Mobile Gazette, 119, 127.
 Mobile Indians, 69.
 Mobile Point, 191.
 Mobile river, 69.
 Mobile and Girard R. R., 24.
 Mobley, John, 199.
 Mohr, Dr. Charles, 112.
 Monette, J. W., 98.
 Montevallo, 46 n.
 Monroe County, 110.
 Boundary, 160.
 County seat, 159.
 Courts, 159.
 Early hist. of, 159.
 Officials, 161.
 Proclamation, 159-60.
 Monroe, Lieut., 155.
 Monroe, Pres. James.
 Tours, 154.
 Visit to Huntsville, 154-8.
 Montgomery, 55, 90, 118 n.
 Montgomery Co., 110, 159.
 Montigny, Père, 85.
 Montigny, Vicar Gen., 91.
 Moody, Gen. Young M., 78.
 Moore, Capt., 199.
 Moore, Col. Syd., 135.
 Morehouse, —, 216.
 Morgan, Gen. Jno. T., 78, 196.
 Morisette, Mrs. E. P., 14.
 Mott, Col. C. H., 136.
 Mounds, 48, 51.
 Mt. Dexter, 185 n, 230.
 Mt. Vernon, 191, 231.
 Mountains, 110 n.
 Mudd, James, 126.
 Murphey, —, 178.
 Muscle Shoals, 147 n.
 Museums, suggestions for forma-
 tion of, 56.
 At Richmond and New Or-
 leans, 62.
 Mushulatubbee, 102 n.
 Musquitoes, description of, 93-94.

 Names, Choctaw in Ala. and
 Miss., 64-77.
 Nanna Falia, village, 69.

- Nashville, 91.
 Nassitoches, 86, 87, 88.
 Natchez, Dist. of, 95.
 Natchez Indians, 85, 91.
 Natchez, town, 85.
 Natchez War, 90.
 Nations family, 153 n.
 Nations, Elizabeth, Joseph, Nel-
 lie, 153 n.
 Necrology, 1898-99, 23-26.
 Clark, W. G., 23.
 Cleveland, W. C., 23.
 Gaddis, Wm. P., 24.
 Hardaway, R. A., 24.
 Meek, Dr. B. F., 25.
 Negroes, 111 n, 217.
 Neshoba Co., Miss., 71, 72, 73, 76,
 77, 142.
 Nevius, Rev. R. D., 56 n.
 New Mexico, 86.
 Newspapers, 49 n, 116 n, 119, 127.
 Received by A. H. Soc., 19.
 New Orleans, 48, 52, 80, 97, 171,
 173, 186, 187 n, 232.
 District of, 95.
 Indian name, 64.
 New Philadelphia, 117.
 Newton Co., Miss., 72, 73, 74, 76.
 Nicholas, ———, 39.
 Nineteenth Miss. Regt., 136.
 Ninth Ala. Regt., 134, 135, 137,
 138, 139, 140, 141.
 Nittakechi, 102, 105 n.
 North Carolina, emigration, 120.
 Noxapater creek, 74.
 Noxubee Co., Miss., 59, 73, 74, 75,
 100.
 Noxubee river, 68.
 Nusichiya creek, 74.

 Oaktark bayou, 74.
 Ochi Chiton, Mobile river, 69.
 Octotata Indians, 95.
 Ohio river, exploration of, 88.
 Okatuppa creek, 69, 74.
 Okak Coppasa town, 234.
 Oktibbeha Co., Miss., 74.
 Oktibbeha creek, 65.
 Old St. Stephens. celebration of
 evacuation, 95 et seq.
 Old St. Stephens Historical So-
 ciety, 20.
 Old Warrior town, 149 n.
 Oliver, S. W., 79.
 Oltibia fort, 65.
 O'Neal, E. A., 135.
 Opotheleyohola, 163, 164, 165.
 Oregon, 41.
 Osage Indians, 95.

 Osage, war vessel, 52.
 Oska bogue creek, 74.
 Otukalofa creek, 74.
 Ouabache river, 88, 89.
 Oumas, 84.
 Owen, J. H., 232.
 Owen, Miss Sarah F., 14.
 Owen, Mrs. Thomas M., 14.
 Owen, Thomas M., 7, 13, 14, 15,
 16, 195.
 Bib. of Ala. cited, 112 n, 114 n.
 Bibb, Gov. W. W., Bibli. note,
 132.
 Blakeley, 123.
 Chairman Ala. Hist. Com., 20.
 Cotton Production, 126.
 Health in Ala., 125.
 Introd. to Burr's Conspiracy,
 167.
 Introd. to Monroe's Visit, 154.
 Introd. to Gaines' Letters, 184.
 Jackson, town, 123.
 Manufactures, 126.
 Monroe Co., 159.
 Necrology, 23.
 Newspapers, 127.
 Preface to this vol., 5
 Proc. ann. meeting, 13.
 Relics and antiquities, 60.
 Resolutions by, 15-16.
 Secretary's report, 17.
 Span. Evac. Com., 195-7.
 Treasurer's report, 22.
 Vote of thanks to, 15 n.
 Oypat Oocoola Dist., 69.
 Pafallaya, Indian prov. of, 70.
 Pailloux, 85.
 Palaas, Antonio, 227.
 Panton, Leslie & Co., 229.
 Parham, ———, 127.
 Paris, Va., 136.
 Pascagoula river, 74.
 Patterson, Gen., 163.
 Pawnee Indians, 94, 95.
 Peace monument, 52.
 Peel, Dr., 136.
 Peevy, Charles A., 14.
 Pelahatchie creek, 75.
 Pelham, John, 56.
 Penantla creek, 75.
 Pendleton genealogy, 184 n.
 Penicaut, 83, 84, 85, 87, 94, 97-
 Pensacola, 88, 170, 228.
 Pennington, Abel, 150 n.
 Perkins, Nicholas, 172 n, 231.
 Perier, 96.
 Perrot, Nicholas, 83.
 Perry, Gen. W. F., 78.
 Perry Co., 66.
 Petersburg, Ga., 129.

- Petersburg, Va., 140.
 Petit, 91.
 Pettit, Charlotte, James, Mary, 216.
 Pettus, Gen. E. W., 78.
 Pettus, Gov. J. J., 101.
 Philip's spring, 124.
 Phillips, Jack, 149 n.
 Physicians, at St. Stephens, 218.
 Piamingo Hometah, 234.
 Pickens Co., 68.
 Pickett, A. J., 184-5.
 Hist. of Ala., 98.
 Pickering, —, 39.
 Pierce, Gideon J., 136.
 Pikeville, 181.
 Pinashshuk town, 74.
 Pinckney, 227-230.
 Pinckney, Gen., 191.
 Pine Level, 123.
 Pinashshuk creek, 74.
 Pioneers of Ala., 46, 143, 206.
 Pitchlyn, John, 110 n.
 Platt, Rev. J. W., 119 n.
 Plattsburg, Miss., 74.
 Poets, 222.
 Polk, Pres. J. K., 42.
 Pollard, Chas. T., 79.
 Ponkabea creek, 65.
 Pope, Col. LeRoy, 126.
 President at Monroe dinner, 156.
 Population of Ala. Ty., 110 and n.
 Pooshama Stubbee, 234.
 Poosha met Takak, 234.
 Porter, Rev. F. H., 119 n.
 Portersville, 86.
 Possum creek, 76.
 Post Road in Miss. Ty., 187 n.
 Prairies, 112.
 Publications Ala. Hist. Soc., 17, 18, 19.
 Presbyterian Church in Ala., 118.
 Prehistoric objects, 49 n.
 Prehistoric remains, 48.
 Priests, Spanish, 87.
 Printing offices in Ala. Ty., 116 n, 119 n, 127.
 Public library, Chicago, 97.
 Pushmataha, 102 n, 206-7, 213, 236.

 Quapaws, 91.
 Quiilla village, 73.
 Quincy, Josiah, 39.

 Raimond, 87.
 Rains, Gen. Gabriel, 141.
 Ralston, 171.
 Rawlins, Eldred, 120 n.

 Rawls, Judge J. B., 199.
 Red River exploration, 85.
 Reed, Abigail, 109.
 Reed, George, 150.
 Relics and antiquities.
 Character of, to be collected by the Hist. Soc., 60-3.
 Importance of, 48.
 List exhibited by Mrs. Sorsby, 49 n.
 From Blakeley battle field, 53.
 From Mrs. Jefferson Davis, 55-6.
 Preserved by Mrs. N. R. King, 49.
 Mrs. Sorsby's paper on, 46-54.
 Religious conditions at St. Stephens, 210.
 Remonville, 89, 94.
 Renau, 95.
 Renaudière, 95.
 Republicsville, 123.
 Revolutionary Soldiers.
 Berrien, Maj. Jno., 128 n.
 Bibb, Capt. Wm., 128.
 Click, John, 150.
 Fisher, Frederick, 222.
 Freeman, Col. H., 131.
 Gaines, James, 184.
 Herndon, Edward, 99 n.
 Jones, Maj. Joseph, 128 n.
 Winston, Capt. Anthony, 99 n.
 Richardson, Elizabeth, 108.
 Richardson, Esther, 109.
 Richardson, Dr. W. C., 14, 15, 22.
 Relics and Antiquities, 56-60.
 Richmond, Va., 134, 140.
 Rigolets, 86.
 Rivers of Ala., 113.
 Rivers, Henry S., 161.
 Riviere Longue, 82.
 Robertson, —, and S. L., 179.
 Robertson, R. H., 136.
 Roddy, Gen. P. D., 78, 178.
 Rodes, Gen. R. E., 78, 79.
 Rodney, Judge, 169.
 Rodney, Ala., 232.
 Rogers, T. A., 191.
 Rogers, Fannie, Thos. A., 186 n.
 Rodolph, war vessel, 52.
 Romans, B., 229.
 Ross, Jack F., 232.
 Ross, W. H., 200, 205.
 Ross, Wm. K., Isaac, Jno., 161 n.
 Rosser, L. V., 14, 15, 22.
 Round Robin of Choctaw Indians, 101.
 Roundtowers of Ireland, 47.
 Roupe's valley, 151 n.
 Routes of travel, 90-1.

- Ruffin, —, 57.
 Russell, Col., 189, 191.
 Russell, E. L., 7, 20, 197.
 Russell Co., 24.
 Rust, David, 125.
 Ryan, Father, 203.

 Saddle manufacture, 126.
 Saffold, Reuben, 123-4.
 Sagean, Mathieu, 80, 82.
 St. Clair Co., 122.
 St. Cosme, 83, 91, 92.
 St. Dennis, Juchereau de, 81, 89.
 St. Dennis, Louis de, 80, 81, 83,
 85, 86, 87, 88.
 St. Lawrence river, 81.
 St. Louis, 80, 83.
 St. Stephens, 20.
 Academy, 213 n.
 Bank, 119-20, 221.
 Buildings, 211.
 Cemetery, 233.
 Chastang's land, 231.
 China trees, 212.
 Churches, absence of, 210.
 Court house, 223.
 Downfall, 210.
 Fort Republic, 231.
 Hotels, 222.
 Land office, 220, 232.
 Lawyers, 217.
 Legislature meets here, 233.
 Lover's leap, 224.
 Masonic lodge, 221.
 Men of, 232.
 Merchants, 217 n., 219.
 Newspapers at, 119, 127.
 Officials, 223.
 Physicians, 218.
 Plat lost, 231.
 Proc. Evac. Com., 198.
 Reminiscences, 208.
 Rept. Evac. Cen. Com., 195.
 Response to welcome, 205.
 Schools, 213, 214, 216.
 Silversmith, 223.
 Situation, 209.
 Sketch, 116, 227.
 Spanish Evac. Cen., 227.
 Streets, 212, 231.
 Suicide's grave, 212, 225.
 Tailors, 223.
 Tanyard, 212 n.
 Teachers, 213.
 Theatre, 210.
 Welcome at Evac. Cen., 202.
 St. Stephen's Halcyon, 119, 127.
 St. Stephen's Historical Society,
 20, 200, 204.
 Sanders, Gen. J. C. C., 78.

 Sanders, Lewis, 161.
 Sangster's Cross Roads, 139.
 Sanoosee creek, 75.
 Satartia, town, 75.
 Saunders, James E., 133 n., 162 n.
 Sawyer, Gen., 179.
 Schools, 119-20, 213-16.
 Schuyler, P. P., 169 n, 172 n.
 Scotch-Irish, 25.
 Scott, A. V., 132.
 Scott, Mrs. Caroline, 23.
 Scott, Gen. Winfield, 136, 164.
 Screws, Maj. W. W., 127.
 Searcy, Dr. J. T., 14.
 Sebogle creek, 75.
 Seed, W. D., 14.
 Selma, 46, 52, 90.
 Seminole Indians, 190.
 Sentibogue, 228.
 Seven Years' War, 80.
 Sevier, John, Ruth, 186 n.
 Sevier, Valentine, 127.
 Sewall, Lewis, 222.
 Seward, Wm. H., 42.
 Shea, John G., 69, 98.
 Shelby Co., 110, 191 n.
 Shell banks, 51, 122.
 Shelley, Gen. C. M., 78.
 Shepard, W. M., 79.
 Sherman, W. T., 56.
 Sheridan, Phil., 56.
 Shipbuilding in Ala. Ty., 126.
 Shield's ferry, 124.
 Shober, Wm., 161.
 Shoemaker, Rev. Wm., 211 n, 217.
 Shongalo creek, 75.
 Shorter, H. R., 79.
 Shubuta, town, 75.
 Shukhvta vlbi bok, creek, 76.
 Shuqualak, town, 75.
 Sibley, Cyrus, 46 n, 49, 50, 51, 54.
 Sibley, Origen, 46 n, 49, 50, 51.
 Sibley, Elizabeth, Gov. H. H.,
 Salome, Col. Timothy, 46 n,
 49, 50.
 Sibley Mills, 50, 51.
 Sieur, Presle, 94.
 Simars, de Belle Isle, 88.
 Simpson, Wm., 79.
 Sioux Indians, 83, 84.
 Sipse river, 70.
 Slaughter, Mr. and Mrs. M. H.,
 200, 201.
 Slaughter Letter, 99 n.
 Slavery among French, 85.
 In West Fla., 229.
 Slidell and Mason, capture of,
 139.
 Slocomb, Capt., 52.
 Sloss, Rev. J. L., 119 n.

- Small pox, 186.
 Smith Co., Miss., 71, 76.
 Smith, Gen. E. Kirby, 135, 136.
 137.
 Smith, Gen. G. W., 139.
 Smith, Little, 79.
 Smith, T. B., 180.
 Smith, Wm., 176.
 Smoot, Col. Benj., 127, 231.
 Snow, Henry, Zabdiel, 219.
 Soctehoma, creek, 75.
 Soil of Ala., 110, 111, 114.
 Sookatonchie creek, 75.
 Sookhanatcha river, 70.
 Sorsby, Mrs. W. E., 7, 14, 16, 54.
 Relics and antiquities, 46-54.
 Sketch, 46 n.
 Sorsby, W. E., 46 n.
 Sossaman, John F., 223.
 South, work of, in building the U.
 S., 27-45.
 South Carolina emigration to
 Ala., 120.
 Southern Magazine, Mobile, 23.
 Sowasha creek, 75.
 Spanish Evacuation Centennial,
 17, 116 n.
 Com. report of, 195-7.
 Proceedings, 198-201.
 Rept. submitted, 15.
 Secretary's rept. on, 20.
 Spanish Fort, 50, 53.
 Sparks, Col. Richard, 186.
 Squaw Shoals, 149 n.
 Stafford, Rev. Jas. B., 119 n.
 Stallings, J. F., 196.
 Stamps, Mrs. Geo. R., 14.
 Stanton, John, 60.
 Starkeville, Miss., 65.
 Stephens, Capt., 135.
 Stewart, Wm., 161.
 Strawsberry, Va., 134.
 Strother Genealogy, 184 n.
 Stuart, Gen. J. E. B., 140.
 Stubbs, Mrs. W. C., 133 n, 162 n.
 Sugar Cane, 111.
 Suggsville, 211 n.
 Sukalena creek, 76.
 Sukanatcha river, 103.
 Sumter Co., 65, 67, 68, 184.
 Dillard's History of, 99 n.
 Sunflower grant, 228.
 Swaine, Elizabeth, 109.

 Tarnasa Indians, 85, 91.
 Tala town, Choctaw, 71.
 Taliepataua, Indian town, 70.
 Talusha creek, 76.
 Tallahatta creek, 228, 70.

 Tallapoosa river, 90.
 Tallula town, 76.
 Tallyhagia creek, 76.
 Tallyhaly creek, 76.
 Tate, —, 182.
 Tate Co., Miss., 73.
 Tashigo, Apalache Chief, 50.
 Tasieluzza, chief, 55.
 Tatum's survey, Ala. river, 113.
 Taylor, David, 123-4.
 Taylor, G. W., 196.
 Taylor, Hannis, 20, 195, 197.
 Address at Spanish Evac. Cen-
 tennial, 200.
 Taylor, Col. Tom., 140.
 Tchaouacha Indians, 85.
 Tchula creek, 76.
 Teeakhaily Ekutapa, 70.
 Tellico, 187 n.
 Tennessee Hist. Society, 172 n.
 Tennessee, settled, 230.
 Teoctalia creek, 72.
 Tensas river, 53.
 Tenth Ala., Regt., 135, 137, 138,
 139, 140, 141.
 Territory, Ala., Wyman's sketch
 of, 109-122.
 Territorial expansion of the U.
 S., 27-45.
 Testu, 91.
 Texas, 41, 55, 81, 87.
 Exploration of, 88.
 Thach, Prof. C. C., 14, 15, 16.
 Member Ala. Hist. Com., 20.
 Resolution by, 15.
 Theatre at St. Stephens, 210.
 Thirty-eighth Va. Regt., 136.
 Thomas, Gen., 53.
 Thomas, Jos. V., 79.
 Thompson, Jane, 208 n.
 Thornton, E. Q., 57-8, 79.
 Thwaites, Dr. R. G., 97.
 Timber in Ala. Ty., 112.
 Tinware, manufacture of, in Ala.
 Ty., 126.
 Toby tubbee creek, 76.
 Tockshish, missionary station, 76.
 Toller bogue creek, 71.
 Tombeckbe bank, 221, 232.
 Tombigby river, 67, 68, 70, 97, 209.
 Exploration of, 90.
 Tonica Indians, 85, 91.
 Tonty, 82, 89, 90, 92.
 Tony cany creek, 76.
 Tookabatchee, 113, 176 n.
 Toogaloo, town, 76.
 Toomsaba creek, 71.
 Topography of Ala., 110.
 Tosleta, —, 163.
 Toulmin, Judge Harry, Jr., 196.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for ensuring the integrity and reliability of the data collected. This section also outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze the data, highlighting the challenges faced during the process.

The second part of the document provides a detailed analysis of the results obtained from the study. It compares the findings with previous research and discusses the implications of the results. The authors conclude that the study has provided valuable insights into the phenomenon being investigated and suggests further research to be conducted in this area.

- Toulmin, Judge Harry, Sr., 222, 225, 230, 231.
 Burr's conspiracy, 169-73.
 Letters to Schuyler, 169, 170.
 Letter to Madison, 173.
 Sketch of, 169 n.
 Toulminville, 216.
 Toulouse, 85.
 Towns of Ala. Ty., 115-18, 123-4.
 Tracy, Gen. E. D., 78, 79.
 Tracy, Uriah, 39.
 Translated Records at Mobile, 96.
 Trading houses, Choctaw, 230.
 Travellers, searches of, 176-7.
 Treaties with Choctaws, 230.
 Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty, 99, 106 n.
 Trim Cane creek, 65.
 Troup, Geo. M., 129, 132.
 Tucker, —, 127.
 Tulane Univ. La., 96.
 Tuomey, Michael, 56-60.
 Turkeytown, 187 n.
 Turner, —, 127.
 Turner, B. D., 200.
 Welcome address, 202-4.
 Tuscalameta creek, 76.
 Tuscanala town, 76.
 Tuscumbia, 99 n.
 Tuskaloosa, 55, 113, 117, 151.
 Origin of word, 71.
 Tuskaloosa Co., 25, 121.
 Tuscaloosa Republican, 127.
 Tuskegee, 163.
 Tustenugee Thlucco, 164.
 Tyler, Comfort, 171 n.
 Tyler, Pres. John, 41.
 Uchee Indians, 190.
 Unionists (1861-65), 178-83.
 Univ. of Ala., 23, 24, 25.
 Upper Miss. river, exploration of, 83.
 Underwood, O. W., 196.
 Valley of Va., 134, 140.
 Vanstown, 187 n.
 Vase, emerald at Genoa, 48.
 Vera Cruz, 87.
 Verneuille, Greene, 199.
 Vicksburg, Cretaceous beds, 59.
 Virginia emigration to Ala., 120.
 Waddy, Sam, 161.
 Waite, Annie, 46 n.
 Wakefield, 230.
 Walker, Capt., 164.
 Walker, Clifton, 79.
 Walker, James, 199.
 Walker, L. P., 78, 134.
 Walker, Mims, 79.
 Walker, Percy, 185.
 Walker Co., 143 n.
 Walker's grant, 228.
 War of 1812, 41.
 Ward, Col. W., 185.
 Warrior river, 149, 151, 153.
 Washington Academy, 213.
 Washington Artillery, 52.
 Washington, capital Miss. Ty., 160, 167.
 Washington Co., Ala., 50, 110, 115, 159, 211 n, 220, 230, 232, 233, 234.
 Washington, Judicial District, 230.
 Waverly, Miss., 101.
 Wayne Co., Miss., 72.
 Weatherford, Bill, 102.
 Weatherford, John, 117 n.
 Weber, W. L., 75.
 Weedon, Lt., 135.
 Wellett, —, 181.
 Wells, Archibald, 209.
 Welsh, Miss Mary, 200.
 Reminiscences of St. Stephens, 208-228.
 Welsh, Mary, George, Wm., 208 n, 209, 223.
 West Ala., Bar of, 99 n.
 West Florida, 110, 200, 229, 232.
 Wetumpka, 113.
 Wheat in Ala. Ty., 111.
 Wheeler, Gen. Joseph, 29, 79, 179.
 White, David, 123, 124.
 White, Hugh L., 126.
 White, James, 40.
 White, James B., 79.
 White House of the Confederacy, 53-6.
 Whiting, Nathan, 232.
 Whiting, Gen. W. H. C., 135.
 Whitesburg, 143 n.
 Whitsett, Jno. C., 106.
 Whittle, Powhatan, 136.
 Whooping King, 234.
 Wia Takali, Choctaw town, 77.
 Wilcox, Gen. C. M., 6, 79, 135.
 Sketch of his brigade, 133-41.
 Wilcox Co., 57.
 Wilcox's brigade, 133-41.
 Wiley, Jno. M., 79.
 Wilkinson, Gen. James, 172, 173, 174, 232.
 Wilkinson, James Theophilus, 222.
 Willie, —, 174, 175.
 Williams, Marmaduke, 132.
 Williams, Gov. Robert, 170 n.

- Wilmer, Bishop R. H., 196.
 Wilson, Mrs. Elizabeth, 218.
 Wilson, John, 181, 182.
 Winchester, Va., 134, 135, 136,
 138.
 Winn, Walter E., 136.
 Winona, Revenue Cutter, 201.
 Winsor, Justin, 96, 98.
 Winston, Lt., 198.
 Winston, Capt. A., Col. A., and
 Nancy Jones, 99 n.
 Winston Co., Ala., 143 n.
 Winston, Co., Miss., 73, 74, 76,
 100.
 Withers, D. F., 79.
 Withers, Jones M., 78, 79.
 Withers, R. W., 79.
 Witherspoon, H. E., 79.
 Woburn Public Library, 107, 108,
 109.
 Wood, H. C., 79.
 Wood, Gen. S. A. M., 78, 79.
 Woodward, Maj. J. J., 135.
- Words, Choctaw, 64-77.
 Wyatt, Sally, 128, 132.
 Wyman, Benj., 107, 108, 109.
 Wyman, Francis, 108, 109.
 Wyman, Justus, 6.
 Sketch of, 107-109.
 Sketch of Ala. Ty., 109-122.
 Wyman, Nathan, 107.
 Wyman, W. S., 14.
 Member Ala. Hist. Com., 20.
 Note to Justus Wyman's paper,
 109.
 Wyman family, 107-9.
- Yancey, W. L., 99.
 Yanubbee creek, 77.
 Yazoo Co., Miss., 75.
 Yazoo, Dist. of, 95.
 Yozoo Indians, 85, 91.
 Yellow fever at Blakely, 54.
 in Ala. Ty., 125.
 Yokanoogany creek, 77.

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